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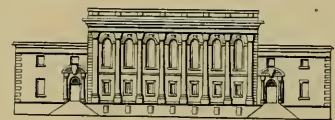
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THE RELATION OF MUSIC TO THE
REVOLUTIONARY ASPECT OF THE PERIOD

1789-1849

BY

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requirements in the Inter-departmental Major
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I. Introduction:

A - Rousseau as a Revolutionist in Music.

All his life Rousseau had the desire to make himself a musician, but he did not have the time, the courage, nor the energy to undertake the study necessary for the understanding of the principles of an art, to learn the technique of which would have exacted arduous labor. He wanted to become a composer without comprehending the language of musical composition, and as a result of his lack of musical education, he did not really fully express his feelings. Had Rousseau had the necessary training, the story would have been quite different, for his ideas on music are often just as startling as his ideas on politics. Rousseau's political ideas played a great part in the French Revolution of 1789, but his musical theory of notation, while just as revolutionary to a certain extent, has had neither the popularity nor the publicity of his other works. Let us blame it on the inadequacy of his musical education, for it is certain that Rousseau was capable of expressing his thoughts on politics, education, and the state; so, it seems, ideas on music would not have been lacking.

In his Dictionnaire de Musique, Rousseau defines music as "the art of combining sound in the way that is most agreeable to the ear". The emphasis on decorum, the evaluation of what is right and wrong according to established conventions, Rousseau rebelled against whether in life or art. Above everything else, Rousseau prized spontaneity of genius. He was far from being a great scholar in music, but with his sensitive and nervous nature, he was greatly impressed by his displays of feeling. Rousseau stood primarily for emotional

individualism, and he put into his music an intense feeling that was characteristic of all his undertakings. The little that Rousseau knew of the practise^c of the art gave him great confidence in his appreciation of the theory of this art, and this unusual musician, who was incapable of hearing together chords of three sounds, attempted to reform everything. This free, independent spirit permeates all of Rousseau's works, and is best shown in a line from his Confessions: "I was born to love independence, and never to abuse it".

It was while Rousseau was at Charmettes with Mme. de Warens that he became interested in his new system of notation. And it was the discovery of this system, which appeared so marvelous to him, and of which we cannot deny the ingeniousness, which brought him to Paris to seek splendor.

Rousseau writes of this in his Confessions saying, "With respect to the present moment, absorbed in my new system of music, I obstinately adhered to my intention of effecting a revolution in the art, and by that means of acquiring a celebrity, which in the fine arts, is in Paris mostly accompanied by fortune".¹

This system was based on the substitution of seven figures for the seven notes of the scale. On August 22, 1742, he read his paper before the Académie des Sciences. Its members listened attentively, and assigned MM. De Mairan, Hellot, and de Fouchy to look into the matter more deeply. These men, according to Rousseau, knew nothing of music and naturally did not accept his theory. We cannot to-day see how Rousseau could have conceived his theory to have been prac-

1 Rousseau, Jean Jacques : Confessions, London, William Reeves, 1925, page 222.

tical, for the system is inapplicable to instruments. It is applicable to the voice, and is used to-day by some vocal teachers, although they do not acknowledge Rousseau as the inventor of the idea, or else do not know he held such a theory. But to discard notes for figures altogether would be quite impractical, for that would be creating a system not applicable to musical instruments. Rousseau elaborated his ideas in 1743 in the famous Dissertation sur la Musique Moderne. In the preface to this work, Rousseau wrote,

"New ideas in music of this day are usually condemned without being heard. Everybody agrees that the characters of music are in a state of imperfection in comparison with the progress of the other arts, but any reforming ideas are forbidden to be introduced as a frightful danger. The establishment of the new characters, far from
1
destroying the past, preserves it".

By way of consoling himself because the Académie would not accept his system of notation, Rousseau entered the French Embassy in Venice in the new rôle of an apprentice to diplomacy. But soon his interest reverted to music, and returning to Paris, he put on the stage an opera, Les Muses Galantes. He himself discovered therein "a gigantic elevation", but was the only critic apparently to be so impressed.

The songs of his Le Devin du Village were chiefly drawn from the romances which were popular in Paris. They did not show great creative ability, but were extraordinary, like all of Rousseau's work, in catching a certain popular quality which escapes analysis. The suc-

1 Rousseau, Jean Jacques : Oeuvres Complètes, Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1865, page 260.

cess of Le Devin du Village could not, however, save from the fury of the public the author of the Lettre sur la musique française. His work deeply wounded the national pride of the French, and this letter, as Grimm in his Correspondance Littéraire expresses it, "set fire to the four corners of Paris". So high did feeling run that, according to his own declaration, Rousseau narrowly escaped the Bastille, and went for a time in fear of his life. In this letter, Rousseau said,

"Although the French have had some excellent poets and some musicians who were not without genius, I do not believe the language is proper for poetry, and not at all for music. It is the language of philosophers."

In a similar way, Rousseau criticized the military music of the day as being in very bad taste. He thought a distinction should be made between music for parades and music for marching. Perhaps we may see in the pompous hymns, composed for public ceremonies during the Republic, the influence of Rousseau.

Rousseau, doubtless, considered melody to be nearer to nature and farthest from that type of social existence which he hated. "And, after all, Rousseau was of the people, and melody is of the people, and that life, new then. the sentiment and love of which Rousseau was the first to introduce into literature--the domestic, everyday life, the humble and silent life of the small and lowly, has its only¹ and most natural expression in melody."

It is unusual that a man who held so important a place in the

1 Bellaigue, Camille: Musical Studies and Silhouettes, N. Y., 1900, page 306.

history of French music during the second half of the eighteenth century should have been neglected by our artists and critics since then. Berlioz called him "Poor Rousseau," when he heard Le Devin du Village in 1826, because Rousseau had thought so much of his music. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that he has been neglected by musicians, Berlioz, Liszt, Chopin, like ^{de} Vigny, George Sand, and de Musset, were all living examples of the Rousseauian theory of individual responsibility,--the idea that the artist is responsible to no one but himself for his actions. They rebelled against the conventions of society, and refused to be bound by any law, even at times the law of their own individuality. Desire for freedom from rules and traditions spread to religion, philosophy, and politics. Their principles were reconstructed as a basis of greater liberty everywhere for the individual.

II - Relation between Political Revolution and Music (1789-1830)

A, Influence of Music upon Revolution.

We invariably link the name of Jean-Jacques Rousseau with the French Revolution because his ideas played such an important part in that great struggle for freedom. Rousseau's ideas permeated the thought of the people of that time, and their songs (which were expressions of their desires) plead for Liberty and Equality--ideals for which Rousseau was the great advocate.

It has been said, "wherever there is a slave there is a song",¹ and even more truly song and revolution go together. Nearly three thousand lyrics were born of the French Revolution.² These songs were rarely melancholy, but set to old familiar tunes, and were often sung in a jocular mood. Nobles, Girondists, Jacobins--everybody sang!

There is a certain spontaneity and vigor about the songs of the early years of the Revolution. They were more like folk tunes, in that they were often the product of a group of people instead of an individual, and they were sung by old and young at all places and at all times. When we reach the songs of the Republic and Empire, we see a more conscious effort to create songs for a definite purpose. These songs are not spontaneous, and are more impressive. There is a certain dignity and austerity about them. They do not sing themselves as the earlier ones do, and, in gaining dignity, they lose their power to stir the hearts of the people to great depths. To encourage men to write music celebrating the Empire, Napoleon conferred the

1 Whitcomb, I. P. : Story of Music, N. Y., 1917, page 184.

2 Ibid., page 186.

cross of the Legion of Honor (established in 1802) on non-revolutionary musicians. In 1810 the French government established the Bureau de l'Esprit Public. This furnished the public with articles on French and Italian music to direct the attention of the Parisians from the activities of the recruiting agents. Napoleon knew the power that music exercised over human emotions, and therefore he tried to enlist the musicians on the side of the Empire.¹

French citizenship was conferred on Schiller by the Republic in appreciation of Die Rauber. Later Napoleon forbade the presentation of Die Rauber in Hamburg, when the French had occupied this city. His government, also, would not allow the performance in the Hanseatic cities of Schiller's Marie Stuart, Wilhelm Tell, and Goethe's Faust.

On November 22, 1793, one of the great masquerades of the Convention took place and a deputation swore with raised hands to have no other cult than that of Reason, Liberty, Equality, and the Republic. We still have an official account in the Moniteur of this, one of the wildest of the orgies countenanced by the Convention:

"A section of the Gravilliers is admitted. At its head marches a troop of men clad in sacerdotal and pontifical robes. The music plays the 'Carmagnole'² and 'Malbrough s'en va-t-en guerre'. Banners and crosses are borne aloft. 'Ah, le bel oiseau!' is played as the dais enters. Simultaneously all the citizens of the section disrobe, and from under the bedizenments of fanaticism one sees de-

1 Fournier, August : Napoleon, N. Y., 1915, page 522.

2 Infra, page 8.

fenders of their country issue forth clothed in the national uniform." ¹ Let us demonstrate this transition from the spontaneous to the conscious by a few examples.

"Les aristocrates à la lanterne" is the song that best expressed the hatred of the third estate for the old established order. Its sentiments were not exalted, but similar statements toward the peasants had many a time been expressed with infinite grace and good taste in the court of Louis XVI. The new song was more dangerous. When the mob had achieved the ability to think "Hang the aristocrats!" and to make a song of it, and to sing that song on the streets, a new force had entered into the life of men. Seldom before had emotion been expressed so violently and so directly.

Paris gained, from some unknown source, another tune, almost equally effective and with words equally to the point. It was the ² "Carmagnole", with the grim refrain, "Vive le son du canon". It was a sailor or a dance tune and, to its refrain, all kinds of words were sung, especially ironic verses aimed at Marie Antoinette. It became well known after the storming of the Tuileries, August 10, 1792. Couplets were added from time to time descriptive of famous incidents of the Revolution, so that it became a typical song of the streets. It was frequently sung in what is now the Place de la Concorde, where during the Reign of Terror, scores of aristocrats and political suspects were executed daily. "The mob liked to see the blood flow and, joining hands in a great circle, would bellow

1 Henderson, E. F. : Symbol and Satire in French Revolution, N. Y., 1912, page 410.

2 Supra, page 7.

this very singable tune and its sentiments to the just heavens."¹

On June 20th, 1792, the Assembly received a letter signed by one hundred citizens declaring that French liberty was in peril; that the men of the South had risen to defend it; and that the day of the wrath of the people had come. The Marseillais entered Paris July 30, by "le faubourg de gloire", singing the hymn, as yet unknown to the Parisians, of the army of the Rhine. These men of Marseilles came in a spirit that was hostile to the very idea of monarchy. Their cry, "Aux armes! citoyens, formez vos bataillons", the glorious invocation, "amour sacré de la Patrie, conduis, sou- tiens nos bras vengeurs", these appeals to vengeance, to form a- gainst "Cette horde d'esclaves, de traîtres, de rois conjurés," made their very souls vibrate. This hymn of revolution aroused patriots to frenzy. The air retained the cries of "Vive la Nation!" "Vive la liberté!" Rouget de Lisle had caught the very essence of the gospel of the people. The "Marseillaise" was a hymn to the God of Liberty. No song has ever stirred its people to such profound depths, to such acts of bravery. On many occasions, the "Marseillaise" has roused the patriotism of the French army to such an extent as to turn a crisis in battle from defeat to victory.² This song was used for other purposes also, for under a cartoon of the day entitled "Matter for Reflection for Crowned Jugglers", in which the severed head of Louis XVI is pictured, the line, "qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons" is written.

1 Mason, D. G. : Art of Music, Voice, N. Y., 1915, page 183.

2 Harman, Henry E. : The History of Famous Songs and Poems, Atlanta, 1925, page 58.

A certain fiddler-beggar, Ladré, by name, picked up a lively dance tune, which he played daily on his fiddle, and published under the name "Carillon National". And someone, even more obscure, set words to it, beginning with the immortal phrase which Benjamin Franklin, ^{himself} a revolutionist, had repeated continually in France in reference to the American Revolution--Ça ira! "Ça ira" was said to have been sung when the mob marched to Versailles, October 5, 1789. At the beginning of the Revolution the song ran--

"Ça ira, ça ira, ça ira,

Celui qui s'élève, on l'abaissera

Celui qui s'abaissera, on l'élèvera".

¹
 "The spirit of the song was that of flowing blood and clanging iron." When the war with Austria was declared, April 20, 1792, an unusual enthusiasm was displayed by the people who lived on the Eastern frontier. The levies for the volunteers, for one year, were made with enthusiasm to the singing of "Ça ira!" ² When the news that the German armies were going to advance on Paris in April, 1792, was made known, the Commune succeeded in arousing the people to a frenzy of patriotic enthusiasm. Leaden coffins of the rich were melted down for balls, and the bells, as well as other church furniture in bronze, were turned into cannon, while the churches were used as workshops, where thousands of people worked, making the volunteers' outfits, singing, as they sewed, the "Ça ira!". To this day "Ça ira!" produces an effect of emotional savagery which can hardly be duplicated

1 Mason, D. G. : op. cit., page 181.

2 Kropotkin, P. A. : The Great French Revolution, vol. II, N. Y., 1927, page 324.

by any other song ever written.

"Veillons au salut de l'Empire" attained the dignity of a national hymn, and was elevated for a while to a position side by side with the "Marseillaise". We have no record of the composer of this song, yet it was important in arousing hope and national feeling among the people. These two songs, conceived for the expression of the national sentiment, gloriously served their purpose.

"Chant du départ" (words by Marie Joseph Chénier, music by Etienne Méhul) was Napoleon's favorite song. It was composed for the fête of the fifth anniversary, July 14, 1794, of the taking of the Bastille. It was sung at the departure of the armies, and is still so used. It is more dignified than the other patriotic songs, and represents the orderly Republican element in the Revolution, as opposed to the more violent Communistic elements. The people themselves were called upon to take part in the performance of the "Chant du départ", the "Marseillaise", and the "Hymne du 10 Août" (celebrating the attack on the Tuileries) at this fête. There can be seen the most characteristic and important quality of the French Revolution in music--the use of massive musical effects, at first a spontaneous product, later consciously striven for. Méhul imagined a chorus of three hundred thousand voices divided into four armies, to sing the first, third, fifth, and octave of the tonic chord. In the final chorus Méhul said,

"Les trompettes ayant donné le signal, la foule, d'un même élan joignit ses 300.000 voix à celles des musiciens et des représentants,

tandis que 200 tambours battaient, et que retentissait une formidable décharge d'artillerie, interprète de la Vengeance nationale annonçant aux républicains que le jour de gloire est arrivé!"¹

Gossec wrote the stately "Hymne à l'Etre suprême" for the fête of the Supreme Being. This is a good example of the music of the First Republic when the people had come to want music of almost religious character, exalted, pompous, and impressive. It was thought that in these solemn and fervent patriotic hymns, music was recurring to its original state as an expression of the common feeling of the people. Gossec also wrote "Peuple, réveille-toi", and the music for the funeral of Mirabeau. Mirabeau's death was a national event. For three days the people mourned him, there was weeping in the Assembly itself. Carlyle describes the scene vividly in The French Revolution:

"The streets are all mournful; orators mounted on the 'bornes', with large silent audience, preaching the funeral sermon of the dead. Let no coachman whip fast through this group. See the Restaureteur's of the Palais Royal--the waiter remarks, 'Fine weather, Monsieur':--'yes, my friend', answers the ancient man of letters, 'very fine, but Mirabeau is dead'. On the third evening of the lamentation, the fourth of April, there is a solemn Public Procession of a league in length of mourners reckoned loosely at a hundred thousand."

Mirabeau's body was conveyed with great pomp to the church of Sainte Geneviève, where Gossec's funeral music was played, and then

1 Locke, A. W. : Music and the Romantic Movement in France, London, Paul, French, Turner, and Co., 1920, page 65.

to its resting place in the Panthéon. These songs of his led to Gossec's being made official composer to the Republic, and, in later years, he was decorated with the Cross of the Legion of Honor by Napoleon.

Grétry is best known for his opera, Richard, Cœur de Lion. The air, "O, Richard, O mon roi, l'univers t'abandonne", became of historic importance at Versailles, October 1, 1789. The National Guards of Versailles, the Swiss Guard, the officers of Flandre, held a banquet in the Hall of the Opera at Versailles on that night. Marie Antoinette, who was looking unusually sad at that time (his majesty being tired from a day's hunting) was told that the sight of the feast would cheer her. She entered the room amid splendor and acclaim, walked in queenly fashion around the tables escorted by the King. The band struck up "O, Richard, O mon roi, l'univers t'abandonne". The young men broke into cheers, waved white Bourbon Cockades, and by the waving of their swords pledged the Queen's health, and the honor of his Majesty, the King. During the Revolution, Grétry was an ardent republican, writing many patriotic plays, songs, hymns, and marches. These led to his being made official composer to the Republic. However, when Grétry's comic-romantic opera, Le Jeune Henri, written in honor of Henry IV of France, was produced in Paris in 1797 the audience was of a different temper and the music met a different fate. It was hissed from the stage for introducing, during the dominion of the Republic, a once-be-

loved king. However, during Napoleon's reign, Grétry was given the Cross of the Legion of Honor for his services to the Empire. As a composer, he led quite a varied career. Méhul's Pont de Lodi, written also in 1797, was in honor of Napoleon. It was received without enthusiasm.

^{Because of}
~~To show~~ the intense feeling aroused by national song in war-
¹
 time, Napoleon forbade the soldiers under penalty of death to sing the "Ranz des Vaches", the Swiss milk-maid's song; for it made the army so homesick that often the men would desert or commit suicide.

During this stormy period, in Germany, as in France, there was a wealth of patriotic songs growing up. Von Weber, when a youth, made a trip from Prague to Berlin, and saw the return of Frederick William, after the battle of Leipzig, October 16-19, 1813.² The national frenzy took hold of him, and he composed settings to some of Körner's war songs, including the famous "Du Schwert an meiner Linken". These songs, because of their stimulus to patriotism, made him better known and loved throughout Germany than all his previous works. To this day, they are sung by the Germans. To celebrate Waterloo, von Weber composed a cantata, "Kampf und Sieg", which in the next few years was performed in a number of German capitals, and secured to von Weber his reputation as a nationalist.

Auber's Masaniello, or La Muette de Portici, possesses double historical interest as it not only recorded but foreshadowed revo-

1 Ranz, meaning air or tune. Ranz des Vaches literally means song of the Swiss neatherds. This song was an old folk tune in which scenes so dear to the hearts of the Swiss were celebrated on the order of "Home Sweet Home". It naturally made these men long for the peace of home.

2 Mason, D. G. : op. cit., page 234.

lutionary events. It describes the revolt, in 1647, of the fishermen against the tyrannical French viceroy, and, in the love story a dumb girl is the heroine. By her expressive gestures, she does everything but speak, while the orchestra plays a wonderful rôle by interpreting what she would say. But even with a dumb girl as the heroine of the opera, the music is full of life and sparkle, and its revolutionary spirit is contagious. Masaniello proved the harbinger of the July Revolution of 1830, which produced a tremor throughout Europe. Only a few weeks later, this opera was the signal for a general uprising of the townspeople of Brussels, who on the twenty-fifth of August, 1830, rioted in the opera house, and rushed from there to attack the Dutch authorities; thus beginning the movement which ended in the forced separation of Belgium from Holland ^{the following} ~~one year later~~.

We have a number of German songs written in the first half of the nineteenth century that served to stimulate national consciousness. A characteristic feature of their romantic composers is the fact that they draw so much for inspiration from the poets of the day. Heine's verses especially are favorites with the German composers. Liszt's "Die Lorelei" and "Du bist wie eine Blume" are perfect counterparts of Heine's words. These two songs are among the loveliest of Liszt's compositions, and, while naturally not as stirring as the "Marseillaise" or "Ça ira!", they well express the love of the Germans for their native land and legends. Frederick Silcher also wrote a tune to the words of "Die Lorelei", and, while not

as harmonious as that of Liszt's, his song is more stirring. Silcher seemed to catch the spirit of the song better than Liszt. This was, in all probability, due to their own temperaments, for Liszt was not the type of man to write stirring war songs.

There is a great tendency among the Germans to celebrate their homes in song and verse. "Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen", and "O Strassburg, O Strassburg, du wunderschöne Stadt" are two German folk songs that express this love of home. The German people did not experience a sudden, violent upheaval as the French did in the Revolution, and therefore we do not find such thrilling songs as the "Marseillaise" and "Carmagnole". The growth of the German nation was a long and arduous struggle, and these songs of the early nineteenth century reflect that struggle. There is a certain depth of sentiment in the songs about Innsbruck, Heidelberg, their homes, a certain national feeling, that we do not get in the French songs. This is further shown in two folk-songs of this period: "Muss I Denn", a Swabian folk song, written in 1825, which begins: "Must I go, must I go from my village home?", and "Von Meinem Burgh", written in 1839. Frederch Silcher caught the same spirit in "Lebewohl", which he composed, in 1827, to an old folk verse.

Schumann, who is one of the greatest song writers the world has ever known, was inspired by the poem "Der Soldat" of Adalbert von Channusso. Schumann was one of the most intellectual of the romantic composers, and he especially is indebted to the literature of the day

for inspiration. "Der Soldat" is a simple, tender song, which seems to catch the very spirit of the German people. It must have stirred the people as our "Keep the Home Fires Burning" did during the World War.

The Requiem of Berlioz is perhaps the best example of music that commemorated revolutionary events for posterity, and it is considered by many critics as Berlioz' best work. In 1836, M. de Gasparin, Minister of the Interior, felt that religious music should be better supported, so, he allotted, yearly, a sum of three thousand francs to be given to a French composer for either a mass or an oratorio; his idea, also, was to have it performed at the expense of the government. He was a friend of Berlioz, and so he decided to ask Berlioz to be the first to write a mass or an oratorio. Berlioz wrote in his biography,

"I had so long ached to try my hand at a Requiem that I flung myself into it body and soul. I actually had to invent a sort of musical shorthand to get on fast enough."¹

It was ^{designed} ~~arranged~~ that the Requiem should be performed at the Memorial service held every July for the victims of the Revolution of 1830. Berlioz had difficulty in getting it produced, but it was finally performed at the Eglise des Invalides at a Memorial service for General Damrémont and the French soldiers who fell at the taking of Constantine. The words "On a colossal scale, theatre. and church, dramatic and sacred" suffice to indicate Berlioz' views when he wrote this eccentric score. Berlioz used an enormous orchestra. No such volume

1 Berlioz, Hector : Life of Berlioz, N. Y., 1912, page 145.

of sound had been heard in Paris since the taking of the Bastille. Berlioz' genius rose to the occasion, and this music will last forever. Its greatness is matched by the ironic circumstance of its first performance.

General Damrémont fell on October 12, 1837, in an attack by the French on the city of Constantine, which was held by Ahmet-Bey. Berlioz composed the music in honor of revolution, but it was used by the government to commemorate and glorify the death of a general who met his end in an effort to advance French imperialism!

The Héroïde funèbre, 1849, of Liszt is not as definite in quality as the Requiem of Berlioz. Liszt wrote a long, vague, and wordy preface to this composition. Frederick Niecks, in Programme Music, in two sentences sums up his meaning:

"Everything can change in human societies--manners and cult, laws and ideas, ^{but} sorrow remains always one and the same, it remains what it has been from the beginning of time. It is for art to throw its transfiguring veil over the tomb of the brave, to encircle with its golden halo the dead and the dying, in order that they may be envied by the living."¹

The idea is abstract, but the music serves to commemorate especially the sorrow caused by the great revolutions in the early nineteenth century. Fully to appreciate Liszt's intention, we have only to remember the nearness of the revolutionary movements of 1848, and to note that Liszt incorporated in this work a fragment from his

1 Niecks, Frederick : Programme Music. London, page 303.

Symphonie révolutionnaire, sketched in 1830.

Lamartine's magnificent "Marseillaise de la Paix" seems to sum up the whole of the situation. The circumstances which surround the writing of this poem are interesting. Lamartine was very much against erecting fortifications around Paris in 1843. He wanted the money spent on railways. Such railways, he contended, would be in themselves fortifications, not only for Paris but for the whole nation. This would lead to the belief that Lamartine foresaw at this early date possible trouble with Germany. Such was, however, far from being the case,

"Ma politique à moi est éminemment allemande", he wrote from Geneva to M. de Fontenay in 1841. "It is the only policy which benefits this half of the century filled with the Oriental question. Germany is the balance in the scales of the two great ambitions of the world: it behooves us to not let her topple over towards Russia or England but to combine with her to insure strength and peace."¹

The magnificent verses were written with this object in view. The Frenchman, addressing the Rhine says,

"Il ne tachera plus le cristal de ton onde,
Le sang rouge du Franc, le sang bleu du Germain,
Ils ne crouleront plus sous le caisson qui gronde,
Ces ponts qu'un peuple à l'autre étend comme une main.
Les bombes et l'obus, arc-en-ciel des batailles,
Ne viendront plus s'éteindre en sifflant sur tes bords.

1 Whitehouse, H. R. : The Life of Lamartine, N. Y., 1918, page 94.

L'enfant ne verra plus, du haut de tes murailles
Flotter ces portraits blonds qui perdent leurs entrailles
Ni sortir des flots ces bras morts."

II. B - Influence of Revolution upon Music.

"The history of modern art and thought dates from July 14, 1789,"
¹
 according to Carlyle. There is no other real date in all history except one, he says, and that is lost in the midst of legend - the Trojan War. We must not be carried away by Carlyle, for although his picture of the French Revolution is quite dramatic, he is often led to make extravagant statements, which we cannot accept as wholly true.

However, when we come to compare the music of the nineteenth century with that of the eighteenth, we find a contrast as striking as was Europe before and after Napoleon's era, - Europe of 1815 as against a conglomeration of states with no intense national pride, no well-organized armies. In contrast to the crystal clear symphonies of the eighteenth century, we find, in the nineteenth, huge orchestral works, operas, the association of music with high poetic ideals. And with this extension in scope there came a profound deepening in content,
²
 "as much more profound and human than that of Louis XVI." The personal and emotional notes sound in the music of the nineteenth century as they never sounded before. The sentimental "musings" of Chopin, the intense emotional expression of Schumann's songs were all personal in the highest degree. Music took on a power of evoking physical images; and, in deeper sincerity, it achieved something like
³
 accurate depiction of the emotions. A thousand shades of expression were brought into the art.

The musicians of the eighteenth century had no thought but of their art; those of the nineteenth were rational enthusiasts, cele-

1 Naumann, Emil : History of Music, New York, page 213.

2 Ibid., page 214.

3 Ibid., page 216.

brators of contemporary heroes, philosophers, agitators. The difference between a Haydn symphony of 1790 and Beethoven's Ninth of 1826 is the difference between a toy shop and the open world. Beethoven, Berlioz, Chopin, Liszt, and Wagner were affected by wars from 1789 to 1848. As a proof of how closely musical history coincides with the revolutions brought about by these momentous years, let us remember that Beethoven dedicated his Eroica Symphony (1802-1804) to Napoleon the First, and that by 1848 Schubert and von Weber were long dead, Mendelssohn was dead, Chopin was wasting away from an incurable disease, Schumann was drifting toward the end, and Berlioz was weary of life.

This period is almost impossible to characterize as a whole in musical terms. It must be characterized in broad terms. Whereas the ideal of the previous age had been to work within limits and so become perfect, the ideal of this age was to work without limits and so become great.¹ Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, this sense of freedom to achieve the impossible was the presiding genius of music. The effect of music on the responsive public was described by a critic of the Mercure,

"La musique exprime d'une manière nerveuse cette exaltation qui se communique insensiblement dans une grand réunion d'hommes ayant les mêmes sentiments."²

Is not this demand for an expression of nationalistic spirit a foreshadowing of the more highly developed musical nationalism of

1 Naumann : op. cit., page 220.

2 Locke, A. W. : Music and the Romantic Movement in France, London, 1920, page 63.

von Weber's Der Freischütz and Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsodies?

In 1802, young Europe regarded Napoleon I as its Messiah and apostle of liberty, very much as it was destined for a short time ^{one hundred and + four} 115 years later, to regard Woodrow Wilson. It was in this year that Beethoven began his third symphony for the orchestra. The first suggestion that he write this work seems to have been made to him by General Bernadotte during his short residence in Vienna, in the spring of 1798, as ambassador from the French nation. The suggestion was that a symphony should be written in honor of Napoleon Bonaparte. At that date, Napoleon was known less as a soldier than a public man who had been the passionate champion of freedom, the savior of his country, the restorer of order and prosperity, the great leader to whom no difficulties were obstacles. He was the symbol then and the embodiment of the new era of freedom and hope, which the Revolution had promised to mankind. Beethoven always had republican sympathies, and it is easy to understand that Bernadotte's proposal would be grateful to him. We cannot suppose that a man of Beethoven's intellect and susceptibility could come to maturity during the French Revolution without being influenced by it. Much of the fire and independence of the first two symphonies are to be traced to that source. However, his first open expression of sympathy with the new order of things was in the Eroica. It was his first obviously revolutionary music.

The Eroica is perhaps the finest piece of musical portraiture that exists of the immortal nine symphonies. Beethoven and Napoleon were alike in some ways, for they were both made of that sturdy stuff

which could, and did, defy the world.¹ It is not strange then that Beethoven should have desired in some way- and he knew of no better way than through his music- to honor one so characteristically akin to himself, and one who at the time was the most prominent figure in Europe.

Beethoven began the work in 1802, and in 1804 it was completed, with the following title:

Sinfonia Grande
 "Napoleon Bonaparte"
 1804 in August
 Del Sigr.
 Louis von Beethoven
 Sinfonia 3
 Op. 55

This was copied and the original score dispatched to the ambassador for presentation, while Beethoven retained the copy. Before the copy could be laid before Napoleon, however, the great general had assumed the title of Emperor. No sooner did Beethoven hear of this from his pupil, Ries, than he started up in a rage, and exclaimed:

"After all, then, here is a tyrant the more! He will trample
 the rights of man under his feet!"²

Upon saying that, he rushed to his table, seized the copy of the score, and tore the title page completely off. From this time Beethoven abhorred Napoleon, and never again spoke of him in connection with the symphony until he heard of his death in St. Helena, when he

1 Crowest, F. J. : Beethoven, New York, 1911, page 99.

2 Ibid., page 100.

remarked with the satisfaction of a successful seer, "I composed the music for that sad event seventeen years ago."¹ Evidently, he referred to the Funeral March in the symphony. No such poignant and noble funeral music as the second movement had ever been heard, nor has ever been heard. In those days, it was a startling innovation to put such a piece into a symphony.

Beethoven, in writing ^{the} Eroica, intended to celebrate the personality of Napoleon; but before he had finished one page, the music had shot far above the level of a work about any one personality. If we use the word "heroic" to describe the music of the Eroica Symphony, it is not because the symphony is about Napoleon, but because heroism, as a state of being, was realized by Beethoven to the extent that he expressed it.² The Eroica, for example, is entirely different from the funeral march in Wagner's Siegfried. The comparative tawdriness of Wagner's music is not due to any difference there might be in the imagined situation, but to the comparative poverty of his inner resources. The symphony rightly bears the title Eroica, for, as Romain Rolland describes it,

"It is an Etna; and, within, the Cyclopes are forging the shield of Achilles."³ "As for the second section,- the famous Durchfuhrung- who will be able to say what it contains of days and nights and weeks of battle? Here is an Austerlitz of music, the conquest of an empire. And Beethoven's has endured longer than Napoleon's. It took him long-⁴ er to realize it; for he, alone, was imperator and army."

1 Schauffler, R. H. : Beethoven, the Man who Freed Music, New York, 1929, page 124.

2 Sullivan, J. W. N. : Beethoven, His Spiritual Development, New York, 1927, page 44.

3 Rolland, Romain : Beethoven, London, 1927, page 62.

4 Ibid.; page 170.

Not only was the Eroica a symbol of revolution, but it was revolutionary in itself. The curious thing is that the Eroica is the most novel of Beethoven's works and therefore, one would have thought, the one that it would have taken the longest to understand. It, however, soon became one of the most popular of his works. The most revolutionary thing about the Eroica was the liberation it gave to sonata form in the first movement, and the innovation of a funeral march in the symphony. Beethoven freed the symphony for the reception of a more consistent, a more closely knit logic and a more poignant emotion than it had known before.

The enthusiasm of "Jeune-France" for the music of Beethoven was only natural, for he represented in so many ways the principle for which they were fighting. Beethoven has been called the Mirabeau, the Danton, of music.¹ His music reflected his feelings in its rhythmic vitality, in the poignancy of its broad melodies, and in its sudden and sharp contrasts. No wonder that the group of young romantic revolutionists of 1830 lost their heads in listening to the music of this great original genius, for Beethoven is the most heroic soul of modern art. He is the grandest and best friend of those who suffer and struggle.

"When we are saddened by worldly miseries it is he who comes near to us. And when we are utterly exhausted in the eternal battle uselessly waged against mediocrity, vice, and virtue, it is an unspeakable boon to find fresh strength in this great ocean-torrent of strong will and faith."²

1 Locke, A. W. ; op. cit., page 79.

2 Rolland, Romain: Beethoven, the Creator, New York, 1929, page 52.

An atmosphere of courage emanates from his personality, a love of battle, the exhalation of the feeling of the God within. Beethoven's life was like a great battle. He is sorrow personified to whom the world refused joy, and who created joy himself to give the world. The motto of his whole heroic soul as expressed in his life and in his works was, indeed, "Joy through Suffering."

In turning to Carl ^{Maria} von Weber, we come to the first great nationalistic composer. More thoroughly German than Beethoven, he is, nevertheless, indebted to Beethoven for some of his revolutionary ideas in regard to orchestration. The work by which von Weber is best known is Der Freischütz, and it is probably his best work. This opera marked the rise of a distinct school of German opera, and must be viewed as a detail of the great "war of liberation" waged in art, literature, philosophy, and politics against the long established subjection of the Germans to French and Italian culture.¹ That this achievement in music was contemporary with the overthrow of Napoleon, and the rise of Germany's political power, is more than coincidence.

The opera Der Freischütz was produced on the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo, in 1821, amid unusual excitement. The inhabitants of the Prussian capitol, having long suffered under the musical autocracy maintained by Spontini, who was opposed to the establishment of any national school of music in Germany now felt that with the triumph of Der Freischütz the reign of musical foreigners was at an end. The fact that Der Freischütz was the first truly German opera symbolized for the people the beginning of the long awaited struggle for freedom

1 In 1782, Mozart produced Die Zauberflöte, the first effort made by a German to produce an opera free from foreign influences.

against the rule of foreigners. The rise of a German national opera and a German nation came to be inseparably connected in their minds. The joyful news that a masterpiece had been created, which from the first bar to the last was thoroughly German, spread with rapidity throughout the country.

Der Freischütz is essentially German in every respect. The legend upon which it is based had existed in German literature as far back as the seventeenth century, and its incidents are the kind that appeal most forcibly to the mass of the German people. It presents the conflict of the powers of good and evil in a concrete form, the evil being represented by Samiel, a German Mephistopheles, and the good, by the pious Agatha. Der Freischütz also represented old German customs and institutions that were dear to the heart of the German people. The melodies are the very essence of German folk song. In other words, von Weber created an opera that was thoroughly German, and it deserved the popular acclaim with which it was received, for it gave to the German people a strong stimulus toward a nation that would be essentially German in every way. Der Freischütz won a success that was not only tremendous at the start, but as lasting as any in the realm of opera. The German people went wild with delight over their drama. von Weber, himself, after conducting a performance of it in Vienna, wrote in his diary,

"Greater enthusiasm there cannot be, and I tremble to think of the future, for it is scarcely possible to rise higher than this. To God alone the praise!"¹

1 Elson, Arthur : History of Opera, Boston, 1926, page 132.

Few operas have had such a world-wide popularity as Der Freischütz, and yet it is essentially a German product. Wagner called it the most German of all operas. The composer's son has aptly characterized it, in his biography of his father:

"Von Weber did not compose Der Freischütz; he allowed it to grow out of the rich soil of his brave German heart, and to expand leaf by leaf, blossom by blossom, fostered by the hand of his talent, and thus no German looks upon the opera as a work of art which appeals to him from without. He feels as if every line of the work came from his own heart, as if he himself had dreamed it so, and it could no more sound otherwise, than the rustling of an honest German beech¹ wood."

In writing Der Freischütz, von Weber not only gave the German people a national opera, but he used the germ Wagner perfected as the leit motif, that is, using one theme throughout the opera to represent a person, an episode, or a place. This was quite an innovation, for the orchestra had never been used before to play a distinct part in the drama. Von Weber's themes were very ^short, but they were quite characteristic. The main importance of this revolutionary idea was the fact that it gave such a stimulus to Richard Wagner. Without von Weber, we may safely say, Wagner would not have been the great genius and master of orchestration that he was. Wagner's idea of the leit motif, he obtained from von Weber, and the leit motif plays an extremely important part in the Wagnerian music-dramas.

Von Weber was also revolutionary in his use of the orchestra.

1 Upton, G. P. : Standard Operas, Chicago, 1910, page 455.

He was the first composer to use the orchestra to obtain dramatic effects. One of the characteristics of the music of von Weber is the unfailing splendor of his orchestration. He uses it not only to portray delineation of temperament, but also to introduce the leit motifs and to bring in local color. Beethoven gave a great stimulus to orchestration by writing for a larger orchestra than Haydn or Mozart had used, but von Weber gave not only a more powerful but a more immediate stimulus than Beethoven. Der Freischütz especially contains more novel color effects,- effects which had their being in the particular texture of musical matter allied to particular instrumental tone-colors. Von Weber's orchestration for strings is more brilliant in passage work and more varied in texture and color than that of Beethoven.¹ The rush of the violin parts in the loud tutti, the rhythmical accompanying figures, the clear appreciation of the individual tone-colors of the higher and lower string voices, are features of von Weber's work which produce ^{an effect} ~~a type of~~ orchestration more highly colored, more showy, and generally more effective than that of the masters of orchestration preceding him. The divided violins and violas in Der Freischütz served to point the way which led to the infinite variety of string coloration found in the orchestration of Wagner.

Another artist who reflected the conditions of the epoch in which he lived was Berlioz,² in whose character and music are mirrored all the complex features of the revolution in the arts and in politics. Victor Hugo was no more revolutionary in his conception of the drama

1 Carse, Adam : Orchestration, New York, 1925, page 236.

2 Supra, section I, pages 5, 7, 18.

than Berlioz was in his use of instrumental music for descriptive and autobiographical purposes. His natural gift of musical ideas, but lack of instruction, can be compared to Rousseau's meagre equipment for musical composition. Berlioz was a Rousseau born a century later, with the same general instinctive ideas of the emotional possibilities of music, with a little more technical training, but, in contrast to Rousseau, he was inspired by a true musical genius.

In Berlioz's personal life there was no more respect of conventions and social proprieties than in his artistic life there was thought of any limit to his musical conceptions.¹ He attempted to make music describe events and scenes which, to his contemporaries, seemed quite outside the scope of musical expression. Not truth to inner experience, but vividness of external effect is his aim.² Berlioz's skill in orchestration is most noteworthy. He is ranked with Wagner and Dvořák. How did Berlioz come to have this genius for orchestration almost from the very first? Berlioz taught himself. He needed, however, a strong external stimulus to make him conceive and bring forth musical tones and expressions. Heine had a keen perception of the originality of Berlioz when he called him a "colossal nightingale, a lark the size of an eagle."³

Berlioz is original in a double sense. By the extraordinary complexity of his genius, he touched two opposite sides of his art, and showed us two new aspects of music - that of a great popular art, and that of music made free. From the first, he strove to free French music from the oppression of foreign tradition. Liberty was for him a des-

1 Locke, A. W. : op. cit., page 136.

2 Mason, D. G. : Romantic Composers, New York, 1906, page 276.

3 Rolland, Romain : Musicians of Today, New York, 1928, page 6.

perate necessity. He wanted "liberty of heart, of mind, of soul - of everything.....Real liberty, absolute and immense."¹ This real liberty formed the unusual originality and grandeur of his musical conceptions. Berlioz wrote to the Princess Wittgenstein in 1856:

"I am for free music. Yes, I want music to be proudly free, to be victorious, to be supreme. I want her to take all she can, so that there may be no more Alps or Pyrenees for her. But she must achieve her victories by fighting in person, and not only rely upon her lieutenants. I should like her to have, if possible, a good verse drawn up in order of battle; but, like Napoleon, she must face the fire herself, and, like Alexander, march in the first ranks of phalanx."²

The other great side of the originality of his genius lay in his talent for making music a popular art, making music that was allied to the spirit of the common people, recently raised to sovereignty, and the young democracy. In spite of Berlioz's aristocratic disdain, his soul was with the masses. Berlioz grew up in the midst of revolution and of imperial achievement. He wrote his cantata for the Prix de Rome in July, 1830, "to the hard, dull noise of stray bullets, which whizzed above the roofs, and came to flatten themselves against the wall near his window."³ When he finished this cantata, he went, a pistol in hand to play the blackguard in Paris with the "sainte canaille". He sang the Marseillaise and made all who had a voice and heart,^{had} and blood in their veins sing it too.⁴

On his journey to Italy, after receiving the Prix de Rome (1830)

1 Ibid. page 30.

2 Berlioz, Hector : Life of Berlioz, New York, 1912, page 48.

3 Rolland, Romain : op. cit., page 48.

4 Ibid.; page 49.

he travelled with Mazzinian conspirators, who were going to take part in the insurrection in Modena and Bologna. Berlioz was greatly influenced by his experiences, and these men left an impression on his mind. He was the musician of revolutions; his sympathies were with the people. Berlioz thought in a large style. There was no limit to the size of his orchestras. His Symphonie funèbre et triomphale is scored for two orchestras and the chorus reminds us, in its tremendous efforts, of the music written to celebrate the fêtes of the First Republic.

"Prince Metternich", he tells us in his Mémoires, "said to me one day: 'Are you not the man, Monsieur, who composes music for five hundred performers?' To which I replied, 'Not always, Monseigneur, I sometimes write for four hundred and fifty.'"¹

To illustrate this, let us turn to examples from Berlioz's own compositions. In the second act of Benvenuto Cellini, Berlioz fills the stage with a swarming and riotous crowd. This scene, that of Le Carnaval Romain, is full of the most brilliant light and colors, full of the maddest gaiety and bustle. He created a music for the masses and on a colossal style. From the Symphonie fantastique, we get another picture of the great crowd. It is in the ballroom scene. The hero of the symphony is present at an enormous ball, the tumult of the fête surrounds him, and his thoughts are swallowed up in the music of the great mass of people. The music for this is perhaps the most brilliant and animated that Berlioz ever wrote. The second division of Harold en Italie has always been the most popular section of the work.

¹ Mason, D. G. : op. cit., page 276.

It is the March of the Pilgrims. We hear the procession approaching from a distance, and then the crowd passes by on the stage, singing an evening prayer. Berlioz uses this March of the Pilgrims in the last movement also. This finale is an allegro frenetico. Berlioz describes an enormous scene. Liszt said of it,

"It is not surprising that the orgy is not received as the grandeur of the musical composition deserves to be. It makes us participators in a monstrous banquet, reeking with brandy and crime, which so far exceeds the representations allowed by our manners and customs, that most of the hearers cannot form any idea of the howling and neighing in the scenes presented to them, so great is the confusion Berlioz describes."¹

Symphonie funèbre et triomphale, Te Deum, Requiem, and Imperiale are all scored for immense orchestras. These compositions are often crude in style, but their grandeur is overwhelming. These hurricanes of sound are let loose in order to speak to the people, to stir and arouse humanity. The Grande symphonie funèbre et triomphale was written in honor of those who fell in the July Revolution of 1830. This revolution, which brought into power Louis-Phillippe, was the signal for uprisings in almost every European country. Of this symphony, Wagner declared that he felt inclined to prefer it to all other compositions of Berlioz, that it is noble and grand from the first to the last note, the creation of a high patriotic enthusiasm. Tiersot thinks that this work occupies in music the same place which is occupied in painting by Eugene Delacroix's La Barricade, with its wild and ener-

1 Niechs, Frederick : Programme Music, London, page 258.

getic combat¹tants.

The Requiem is a Last Judgment - not meant like that of the Sistine Chapel for great aristocracies, but for a crowd, a surging, excited, and savage crowd.² The Marche de Rakoczy is less a Hungarian march than a revolutionary fight. Berlioz was probably more immediately affected by revolutionary events than any other composer of the "Storm and Stress" period. His extreme ideas (or so they seemed to the Paris of his youth) naturally brought him into conflict with the conservatives and led him into his conflict with the Conservatoire.

The story of Berlioz's first meeting with Cherubini, the man of far-reaching influence, who was director of the Conservatoire, is quite famous in music³ history and illustrates his rebellious spirit: Berlioz, a youth fired with enthusiasm, had been sent to Paris by his father to study medicine. Discovering that he was not suited to become a doctor, Berlioz decided to devote his life to music, much against the wishes of his family. The Paris Conservatoire had a wonderful library for that day, and Berlioz went there to try to learn something of composition. Cherubini was a cold and formal precisian, and he had a strict ruling that the male and female readers of the Conservatoire Library should enter by different doors. Berlioz did not see the notice, entered by the women's door, and immediately buried himself in the score of Glück's Alceste. Presently he was recalled to this world by finding Cherubini standing beside him, "a thin, cadaverous figure with a pale face, tumbled hair, and fierce, gleaming eyes."³ There was an angry quarrel, ending by the director's ordering the porter to

1 Ibid., page 262.

2 Rolland, Romain : op. cit., page 58.

3 Mason, D. C. : op. cit., page 254.

eject the offending student. After causing a lively chase among the desks, Berlioz, on reaching the door, only stopped to announce to the enraged Cherubini that he was soon coming back to study Glück again. He did so, but he never conciliated the ill-will of his powerful enemy, who from that time on lost no opportunity to attempt to frustrate the young man's ambitions.

In 1826, Berlioz tried for the Prix de Rome, an annuity of 3000 francs for five years. The subject prescribed for competition was the death of Orpheus, on which Berlioz proceeded to spend himself with an ardor we can well imagine. The result was that his bacchanal scene was pronounced unplayable by the mediocre pianists that were appointed to play the pieces to the jury. Berlioz was furious, and most of all, at the injustice done his orchestration.

In 1828, missing the first prize by two votes, one of them Cherubini's, he obtained second prize. It was not until 1839 that, at last, learning by experience, he wrote his cantata, Sardanapalus, in the deepest and most conservative style he could, leaving out altogether the conflagration scene, which might have proved unplayable, and at any rate would have disturbed the tranquillity of the judges. Discretion won the day, and he was free to depart for Rome, and to finish the cantata to his own satisfaction, which, we may be sure, he lost no time in doing.

How did the Paris of 1830, which had affected Berlioz so intensely, and particularly the temper of Parisian life, affect Franz Liszt? He writes about this time:

"For two weeks my mind and my fingers have been working like the damned. Byron, Hugo, Lamartine, Châteaubriand, Beethoven, von Weber, Plato, the Bible are all about me. I study them, meditate¹ them, devour them furiously."

Such literature would have a strong appeal, for Liszt, Byron,^o and Châteaubriand portray men who are out of tune with the world, - men who long to get away from a world of conventional ideas. To² Liszt, the man of genius, these characters would picture his strife with the new world, and his longing for peace and security behind the doors of the Roman Catholic Church.

The phases of Liszt's development are interesting. First, he read Châteaubriand, and began to doubt. Then he was stirred by the teachings of Saint-Simon and his followers. The early manifestations of the modern socialistic theory were then in the making in the cult of Saint-Simon, and Liszt was among the first drawn to it.³ The Saint-Simonians had a concrete scheme of communistic society and a sort of religious metaphysic. This latter, if not the former, appealed to Liszt because of the place given to art as expressing the ideal toward which the people, the whole people, should strive. The fact that Saint-Simon, with his ideas of social equality, popular education, and moral freedom, placed music with the other arts as one of the chief means of spiritual uplift, did much to encourage Liszt and other musicians to take a more active and dignified part in the social and artistic life of their times. Lavisser^{well} sums up Saint-Simon's idea of the place of the individual in society, well. He writes:

1 Mason, D. G., Editor : Art of Music, Narrative History, vol. II, New York, 1915, page 246.

2 This was a favorite theme with Hugo.

3 Dole, Nathan : Famous Composers, New York, 1902, page 501.

"La vie individuelle n'est qu'une face de la vie sociale, l'individu isolé est une abstraction; c'est au nom de l'humanité qu'il faut organiser l'individu. Il se refuse à isoler le problème politique et le subordonne hardiment au problème sociale."¹

Liszt never joined this mystic society which wanted to revolutionize the world, but he attended its meetings. It helped to stimulate his genius, although the extremes to which the members of the sect were carried revolted him; yet he would have been their ideal of an artist, standing as a priestly mediator between God and the world.

The conception of art as a means of mental cultivation and religious expression was Saint-Simonism, but Liszt was influenced in these ideas even more profoundly by the revolutionary Abbé Lamennais. He criticized the theory of "art for art's sake" and assigned to art the supreme object of perfecting the moral salvation of mankind. Lamennais was a devout Catholic, but, like many members of the priesthood during the first revolution, he was also an ardent democrat. He took it as self-evident that religion was for all men, that God is no respecter of persons. He was pained by the role of the Church in the French Revolution, its willingness to side with the ministers of despotism, its readiness to give its blessing and its huge influence to any reactionary government which would offer it material enrichment.² He felt it was necessary, no less in the interest of the Church than in that of the people - that the Catholic Church should be the defender of democracy against reactionary princes. He was do-

1 Lavissee, Ernest : Histoire de France, Restauration, Paris, 1920, page 204.

2 Mason, D. G. : Art of Music, Narrative History, vol. II, New York, 1915, page 247.

ing precisely what such men as G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc¹ are trying to do in England today. Liszt had always been a Catholic, and in his youth had been prevented from taking holy orders only by his father's express command. Now he found Lamennais' philosophy meat to his soul, and Lamennais saw in him the great artist, who was to exemplify to the world his philosophy of art.

In 1834, Liszt published in the Gazette Musicale de Paris an essay embodying his social philosophy of art. Several points in this manifesto are of importance in indicating what four years of revolutionary Paris had made of Liszt, the artist. Though primarily a virtuoso, Liszt had been raised above the mere vain delight of exciting admiration in the crowd. He had made up his mind to become with all his powers a creative artist. He had asserted the artist's right to do his own thinking. He had linked up his virtuoso's sense of the crowd with the only thing that could redeem it and make it an art,- the human being's sense of democracy. We can nowhere find a better description of the music of Liszt than his own description of the future "humanitarian" music which partakes "in the largest possible proportions of the characteristics of both the theatre and the church, dramatic and holy, splendid and simple, solemn and serious, fiery, stormy, and calm."² In this democracy, Liszt, the virtuoso, and Liszt, the Catholic, find, at last, their synthesis.

Liszt visited Lamennais at his country seat in Bretagne, and under the inspiration of his teaching composed his beautiful Pensées des Morts. For him, art was the divine medium between God and the

1 Ibid ⁶ page 248.

2 Dole, Nathan : op. cit., page 503.

world. "Art is for men," he wrote, "what the creative power is for God."

It was particularly the Revolution of July 1830 that influenced the compositions of Liszt. We do not find as much specific evidence of this influence in his works, as we find its influence in the change it made in the general attitude of Liszt toward the world and his art. The July Revolution woke Liszt from his lethargy.

"It was the cannon that cured him", his mother said. She had difficulty in keeping him from rushing out and fighting at the barricades for the cause of humanity and popular freedom. To testify his republican sympathies, he planned a Symphonie révolutionnaire after Beethoven's Battle of Vittoria, but it was never completed. When Liszt composed the famous Héroïde funèbre after the Revolution of 1848, he incorporated in it a part of his Symphonie révolutionnaire. He was inspired at the time by revolutionary events as much as Berlioz was, but time dimmed Liszt's ardor. His nature was more gentle than Berlioz', and his great devotion to the Catholic Church was a restraining force also. Liszt was greatly influenced by the Marseillaise, and wrote a very beautiful transcription of it.

II.C - The Marseillaise and its Effect as the Supreme Example of the Reciprocal Relation of Music and Political Revolution.

If there is one song in history that is the supreme example of the relation of music upon revolution and revolution upon music that song is the Marseillaise.¹ The story of its origin is famous the world over. It was on April 24, 1792, just after the declaration of war, that the mayor of Strassburg, Dietrich, gave a banquet in honor of the six hundred volunteers who were soon to leave for Paris. At this banquet, Dietrich, who was a constitutionalist, remarked that it was sad that practically all the war songs of France could not be sung by the present defenders, because they all treated of loyalty to the king, and not to the nation as well. There was present Rouget de Lisle, a young captain of engineers, who had written some comic operas, and it was to him that Dietrich appealed. That night in a state of sublime patriotic exultation, Rouget de Lisle composed the words and music of the national hymn which was to immortalize his name, and which, a short time afterwards, conducted the French armies to victory. On the following day, it was sung with great enthusiasm and, instead of six hundred volunteers, a thousand marched out of Strassburg.

Let us see what effect this song had upon France. In July, 1792, if you had envisioned France, you would have seen the towns stirring as they had stirred three years before. It was from them that the opposition came, and especially from Marseilles. The Jacobins of Brest and Marseilles had distinguished themselves by sending two battalions of volunteers instead of a mere handful. The Marseillais had

1 Supra : section I, pages 9, 11.

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trained but three days. They had left the Mediterranean in the height of a torrid summer; their organization was self-made, their officers self-chosen, their discipline self-imposed. They started on July 5th, and arrived in Paris on July 30th, still singing their song. When at last they saw the towers of Notre Dame, and as the roads came in together and the suburbs thickened, they sang it with louder voices. At Paris, the accents of that terrible melody sounded like strokes of the tocsin. The men who sang it filled the conservatives with terror. They wore woolen cockades, and insulted as aristocrats those who wore silken ones. The Marseillais, as tradition justly represents them, were the framework of the force that decided the critical day of the Revolution (the storming of the Tuileries), as their song was its soul. No one can sufficiently describe music; but if in a great space of time, the actions of the French become meaningless, and the Revolution ceases to be an origin or a source of inspiration, someone perhaps will recover this air, as we have recovered a few stray notes of Greek music, and it will carry men back to the Republic.

2

Hilaire Belloc in Robespierre says of this immortal song:

"The Marseillaise with its platitudes and its immortal phrases set to such a kind of tune is the whole of '92."

3

Rouget de Lisle in the July Revolution of 1830, on hearing his own revolutionary hymn shouted by crazed Parisians cried:

"Ah-h, it goes badly - they are singing the Marseillaise!" The years had not dimmed the power of the Marseillaise to stir the people,

1 Belloc, Hilaire : Marie Antoinette, London, 1923, page 513.

2 Belloc, Hilaire : Danton, London, 1928, page 160.

3 Belloc, Hilaire : Robespierre, New York, 1927, page 193.

4 Dodd, Anna B. : Tallyrand, New York, 1927, page 244.

and Rouget de Lisle realized what a force his song was in the time of peril.

Richard Wagner, in the story of his life, tells of the effect of the Marseillaise on the German people. In 1834, he was visiting Count Pachtá in Bohemia. He was feeling in unusually high spirits one night, and ^{he took himself} ~~adjoined~~ to the Black Horse Tavern to continue his mischievous pranks. He soon got to the point of recklessness. He writes:

"Anyone who knows how things stood then in Austria can form some idea of my recklessness when I say that I once went so far as to cause one symposium in the public room to bellow the Marseillaise out into the night."¹

The next morning, he was sobered quite a bit by a summons from the police. In addition to this, he recalled the singing of the Marseillaise the night before, and was filled with the gravest fears. The Austrian government knew only too well how much that song could stir the people to action. Consequently, desiring a too peaceful Germany, they had forbidden it to be sung or incorporated into songs. Luckily for Wagner, he was not in a public square when he became reckless.

Shelley was affected by this national song. In a letter to Edward Graham in June, 1811, he writes:

"I conjure thee that thou wilt assist me in my loyal endeavor to magnify - if magnification be possible - our noble Royal Family. Take thou thy tuning fork, for the ode is coming."²

1 Wagner, Richard : My Life, New York, 1911, page 104.

2 Peck, W. E. : Shelley, New York, 1927, page 147.

This promise was probably fulfilled, for not only did Shelley append a poem to the letter, but also an apposite stanza from his translation of the Marseillaise, which showed that he, too, was interested enough in the famous song to attempt a translation of it. A few lines from the poem will ^{demonstrate} ~~show~~ that Shelley wasted no love on the English Royal Family, but showed his sympathy for the French Revolution by attempting a translation of the Marseillaise.

Napoleon I did not want songs that brought back ideas of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity to the people, and so when he became Consul, he forbade the singing of the Marseillaise. He understood the place music held in the life of the French people, and he did everything in his power to recruit the musicians of the day ^{to} ~~on~~ _^ his side. In 1802, Napoleon established the Legion of Honor, which honored non-revolutionary musicians. Napoleon wanted music that would fill the hearts of the French with pride for their native soil. Grétry, Méhul, the reformed Berlioz, and Gossec were among the musicians who received the Cross. Their efforts were bent toward glorifying the French people, their every-day life and habits. Napoleon forbade the Marseillaise to be sung because he thought that it aroused the people too much.

In 1810, he established the Bureau de l'Esprit public. It was at this time that the French recruiting officers were using every possible means to get men into the army. Napoleon wanted something to divert the minds of the French to more pleasant subjects, and so he used this Bureau as his tool. It sent out articles on French and

Italian music. He, himself, much preferred the Italian to the French composers. He admired especially Spontini, Paer, Paisiello, and Della Maria, for they were more classical in form and feeling, less exciting and dangerous than the French artists of the day. He wished to patronize the arts, to be served, not to be imperiled, by them. Ludwig tells in Napoleon of a trick Méhul played on the Emperor. He produced a new opera as the work of an Italian composer, and thus earned the approbation of his Emperor. Paisiello also played a trick by introducing into one of his own compositions an aria by Cimarossa, a composer whose work ^{thought that he} Napoleon could not endure. The consul applauded, and when afterwards he was told of the joke, ¹ he only laughed.

1 Ludwig : op. cit., page 554.

II.D - Musical Compositions Designed to Afford Relief from Revolutionary Terror.

The music that furnished the greatest relief from revolutionary terror was that of the songs. During this period of revolution, we find songs coming into a greater prominence in the life of the people than ever before. The greatest ^{lyrical} ~~song~~ writers the world has ever produced were a product of this changing age. Liszt, Schubert, Schumann, and Mendelssohn wrote ^{such melodies as} ~~lyrics that~~ could not help but recall the minds of the people from the affairs of every day life to a land of dreams. These composers drew their inspiration mainly from the poets of the day, but these offered a stimulus to revolution - Heine, Goethe, Hugo, and Lamartine. These men were revolutionists as well as romanticists. Their songs are not of bloodshed, but are as often of liberation as of fantasy. At no other time in musical history have the poets and musicians worked together in such perfect harmony.

III A - Influence on Music of Revolutionary and Romantic Literature as Exhibited in Compositions of Liszt.

This influence of music on the revolutionary and romantic literature of the day is best portrayed in the symphonic poems of Liszt.

His Tasso is a work of great worth and importance, more romantic than revolutionary in tone, for Tasso's spirit is more oppressed by grief than animated by revolt. This symphonic poem is a tribute to the genius of Tasso, a genius that ^{in his own time} was not appreciated, and ^{not ascribed} found its ^{inspiration later to} impulse ⁱⁿ the works of Goethe and Byron. The full title of the work, Tasso, Lamento et Trionfo, is thus explained by Liszt in a prefatory note to the score:

"Lamento e Trionfo, these are the two opposing factors in the destiny of poets, of whom it has been truly said that, though, misfortune, at times, crush heavily upon their lives, a benediction always ~~ways~~ awaits them at the tomb. In order to give to this idea not only the authority, but the vividness of reality it has been our desire to borrow from the actual world its forms, and thus have we chosen as the theme of one musical poem a melody upon which we have heard the Venetian gondoliers on the lagoons sing the strophes of Tasso, thus re-altered three centuries after his life:

'Canto l'armi pietoso e'l capitano
Che'l gran Sepolero libero di Cristo'"¹

Liszt's poem thus becomes, in a way, a variation upon this theme, expressing in several main sections the aspects of Tasso's life as re-viewed by Liszt.

1 "I sing of the sacred arms of the man who liberated the great Sepulcher of Christ."

"Tasso loved and suffered at Ferrara; at Rome he was avenged;
his glory still lives in the popular songs of Venice."¹

Tasso, as portrayed by Goethe and Byron, is a poet, a man of genius, who has been misunderstood by the world. He is not in tune with the universe; he lives the life of a recluse who has revolted against human society and institutions. Byron especially brings out the revolt in the character of Tasso. In Byron's poem, Tasso calls on Leonora, his beloved. She is Leonora d'Este, sister of the sovereign who imprisoned him from 1579 to 1586. Of a very erratic nature, this unusual genius was quite misunderstood by not only his sovereign, but by all Italy. One of the greatest poets that Italy has ever produced, he was tormented practically all his life by the jeers of his fellow countrymen. The Duc d'Este befriended him in his youth when he produced some of his finest poetry, but he later became convinced that Tasso was insane and had him imprisoned. Like Liszt, Tasso sought refuge in the Roman Church in the last years of his life. There he found the calm and peace that the outside world would not offer to his weary soul.

In the opening of Tasso, the theme is announced in a broad sweep at once proud and passionate. On this is built a short introductory section which leads to an allegro strepitoso portraying the ^{Love} loving and suffering of Tasso. One of the best of the symphonic poems of Liszt, it portrays well the man of genius misunderstood by the world—a theme that was popular with all the romantics, particularly Alfred de Vigny.

1 Mason, D. G. : Art of Music, Orchestra, vol. VIII, New York, 1915, page 307.

Les Préludes is the most popular of Liszt's orchestral works. It was prompted by an excerpt from Lamartine's Méditations poétiques, which begins:

"Notre vie est-elle autre chose qu'une série de préludes à ce¹ chant inconnu dont la mort entonne la première et solennelle note?"

As Liszt was inspired by this poem to write the most beautiful, or at least, most melodic, of his symphonic poems, so Lamartine realized the musical quality of his verse, for he wrote of it:

"C'est une sonate de poésie. J'étais devenu plus habile artiste, je jouais avec mon instrument. Dans ce jeu j'intercalai cependant une élégie réelle, inspirée par l'amour pour la compagne que Dieu² m'avait donnée; l'onde que baise ce rivage - "

Les Préludes does not have a central hero, as do Tasso, Mazeppa, and Faust. Consequently, we must consider it as more romantic than revolutionary in tone. It is revolutionary in expressing a distaste for life in this world; romantic in elaborating on the theme of death. It is more impressionistic in style, for it does not tell a story. Liszt therefore did not have an opportunity to convey to the listener the strife that would be evident in the character of a man revolting against the world. It shows^{however,} the introspective and imaginative fancies of a poet, who was a revolutionist himself.

Mazeppa is the most stirring of the symphonic poems. Liszt modelled his work after the poem of Hugo, which in its more melodramatic description affords him a more suitable background for his musical picture than^{he could have gained from} the better known poem of Byron on the same subject.

1 Dannreuther, Edward : Oxford History of Music, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1905, vol. VI, page ?.

2 Hemming, T. M. : Representative French Lyrics of the 19th. Century, New York, Ginn and Co., 1913, page 349.

The story is told by Mazeppa to Charles, King of Sweden, who wants to know the secret of Mazeppa's splendid riding. Mazeppa, who is of Polish blood, had been reared as a page to Jean Casimir, in whose court the arts found patronage. When Mazeppa grew into young manhood, he fell in love with the count's daughter, Theresa. Since he was only a page, they were forced to meet secretly. One night, the count's spies discovered the lovers. Enraged at the idea that a page should aspire to his daughter's love, the count had the fiercest and wildest of his horses brought out. Mazeppa was bound to the animal's back, and sent out to meet his fate. The ride is described very vividly by Hugo and Byron. For days, the horse carried the rider upon its back. Mazeppa finally lost consciousness, and when he awoke he found a young Cossack girl bending over him. Nursed back to health in the Cossack camp, Mazeppa was soon made leader of the tribe because of his great courage. The desire for revenge still filled Mazeppa's heart, and with the Cossack tribe, he went to the Count's chateau. He burned the chateau and laid waste to the countryside. That fatal ride had molded Mazeppa's life, and his revolt against a society, which inflicted punishment on those who aspired to higher things, caused the destruction of life and property, and bequeathed to literature and the arts an heroic symbol of defiance and injustice.

The symphonic poem opens with a description of Mazeppa's wild ride, as he is carried bound upon the back of the untrained steed. After a sharp and shrieking chord in all the wind instruments the strings establish the galloping figure.¹ There is an accumulated

1 Mason, D. G. : Art of Music, Orchestra, page 312.

fury after the climax, in which the theme of Mazeppa is enlarged upon as the climax of intense dramatic force is developed. There is then a resumption of the galloping rhythms, offset by detached phrases of the Mazeppa theme. After a very extended treatment of this order, there comes a momentary lull which indicates Mazeppa's rest within the Cossack camp. The section is short, and is interrupted by the trumpet call that summons Mazeppa to lead the Cossack tribe. A Cossack march terminates the work, trumpeting the air of war and revenge.

By Faust, Liszt was inspired, as so many men have been, to create in music the great drama of a man torn by revolt. All that was best in the movement of ideas in the eighteenth century - its scepticism, its humanitarianism, its longings - are here crystallized into poetic form.¹ Liszt, in putting into musical form the poem of Goethe, was portraying a whole age - an age of doubt, of revolt. The germ of the poem lies in Faust's unbridled curiosity. His desire to acquire knowledge leads him to extremes. Faust is tormented by the idea that there is so much beyond his grasp, and, because of this great longing to attain more knowledge, he sells his soul to Mephistopheles. After the realms of knowledge have been opened to him by the aid of magic, he becomes tormented by the thought that one day his soul will belong to the Devil. His love for Marguerite climaxes his despair. Torn by his desire to stay with her, yet realizing that Mephistopheles is beckoning him to come, he even attempts to escape his contract made with a superhuman power. In picturing the despair and revolt in Faust's soul, Goethe portrays one of the most dramatic moments in all litera-

1 Dowden, Edward : New Studies in Literature, London, Kegan, Paul, French, Trubner, and Co., 1902, page 298.

ture. In no other work, did Liszt have the opportunity to display his knowledge of human feelings and emotions so well. The revolt in Faust's soul, his utter despair in the end, furnish Liszt with his most dramatic material. Liszt's symphonic poem does not attain the heights of Goethe's masterpiece, ~~and it is~~ because Liszt was not able to grasp the full significance of Faust. Liszt longed for a quiet, peaceful life, and naturally a man of such a temperament could better put into musical terms Les Préludes rather than Faust. It was his limitations as a man rather than as an artist which kept him from attaining with his symphonic poem the success Goethe attained with his literary poem. Liszt was dissatisfied with the world as Faust was, but it took him many years to summon up courage enough to revolt from that world.

In the Faust symphony, Liszt has attempted to create a musical work that should contain the spirit of the drama, which served as its inspiration. The first movement employs four themes in depicting the various moods of Faust. In the second movement, we have two themes, both descriptive of Marguerite. The third is a Mephistopheles movement. In this scene, Liszt outdid even Berlioz in his painting of the Inferno. The piece is built upon figures of a sharp rhythmical incisiveness¹ making up a whole texture of "scintillating diablerie".

1 Ibid.,⁶ page 300.

III. B. Compositions of Schumann.

As we have noticed, Liszt obtained from the great literature of his period the sources of his inspiration, but no composer ever displayed a greater knowledge of the literature of his day than did Robert Schumann. He was the most intellectual of the musicians of his period. A well-rounded man, he was especially interested in the poets and prose writers of his native land, and also of England and France. No man ever displayed a wider range of sympathy than Schumann. He could be gay, serious, jovial, pensive, or humorous. To see the humorous side of his nature, we have only to turn to the ^F~~Faschings~~
~~wank~~ ^uans Wien (Carnival Frank in Vienna). He manages the musical quotation with felicitous humor. It seems that the playing of the Marseillaise was forbidden by the German authorities, on account of the strongly revolutionary tendencies of public feeling. This police taboo did not prevent Schumann from letting "a single strain of the splendid tune flash out from his mosaic of melodies" to the unbounded delight of his audience and the discomfiture of the helpless
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 officials.

The fantastic element was especially marked in the works of the Romanticist, E. T. A. Hoffman, and this appealed strongly to Schumann. The characters of Hoffman's weird tales were so grotesque that this author was accused of being either insane or under the influence of opium. The Kreisleriana owe more than their title to Hoffman's fantastic sketches. Schumann dedicated the work to Chopin. The title

1 Mason, D. G. : op. cit., page 115.

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is really intelligible to Germans only. Kreisler is a creation of E. T. A. Hoffman--an eccentric, evil, clever capellmeister. Critics, who tell us that Schumann is expressing his own sorrows and not those of Doctor Kreisler, and that his pieces ought to have been called Wertheriana, have missed the point. Of all the German artists, Schumann approaches most nearly to Hoffman in sympathy. So in calling his pieces Kreisleriana, Schumann is expressing a real connection of thought, a real recognition of alliance. They are, in fact, Fantasiestücke in Hoffman's manner. Dr. Kreisler is "the little man in a coat the color of C sharp minor, with an E major colored collar".²

In a letter from Prague to Clara Schumann, written on April 17, 1839, Schumann gives us definite information as to the prevailing mood of the Nachstücke Op. 23:

"During this composition I kept seeing funeral coffins, unhappy, desperate people, and, when I had finished, upon casting about for a title, I came upon Funeral Fantasy always--is it not strange? I am going to call it Night Pieces, after E. T. A. Hoffman."³

Schumann in his youth was a creature of moods, plunged in a day from heights of joy into abysses of melancholy. He was impetuous, generous, inconstant in almost everything but his devotion to beauty. The idol of his boyish hero worship was Jean Paul Richter, that curiously German compound of sentimentality, mysticism, and wayward humor--or: in fact, one of the most sentimental of the Romanticists. He knew his Richter as some Englishmen know Dickens, his Heine as some

1 Niecks, Frederick: Schumann, London, 1925, page 186.

2 Hadow, W. H.: Studies in Modern Music, N. Y., 1892, page 206.

3 Niecks, Frederick: op. cit., page 202.

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Frenchmen know de Musset. It is hard for us to understand Richter's great influence over Schumann, for to us, he is merely a sentimental humorist. Heine wrote:

"Goethe's masterpieces adorn our Fatherland as beautiful statues adorn a garden. It was Richter's flower, fruit, and thorn pieces that really set the garden ablaze with color and hung its trees with the juicy sweetness of autumn."²

Schumann did not make the acquaintance of Jean Paul's writings until some of them had been before the public for nearly half a century. But when he once found them, his enthusiasm made up for lost time. He employed his leisure in the composition of Jean Pauliads. Throughout his life, we find Richter's influence remained paramount. He always considered him above criticism. He acknowledged the debt which his music owed to the study of his favorite author. He wrote to Henrietta Voigt à propos of the Papillons:

"I might tell you a good deal about them had not Jean Paul done it so much better. If you ever have a moment to spare please read the last chapter of the Flegeljahre where you will find it all in black and white, down to the seven league boot in F sharp minor. I may further mention that I have adopted the text to the music and not vice versa."³

Die Flegeljahre is one of Richter's masterpieces. Walt and Vult are the representatives of the poet's personality, just as Eusebius and Florestan were afterwards used by Schumann to symbolize two aspects of his own personality. In a letter to Reilsta^l, April 19, 1832,

1 Hadow : op. cit., page 202.

2 Ibid., page 153.

3 Hadow : op. cit., page 203.

Schumann wrote:

"For the poet spiritually akin to Jean Paul, I venture to add a few words about the origin of the Papillons, as the thread which should bind them together is hardly visible. You remember the last scene in the Floreljähre - masked dance-Walt-Vult-masks-Vult's daughter-the exchange of masks-confessions-anger-revelations-hurrying off-the concluding scene - and then the departing brother. I kept turning over the last page, for the end seemed to me only a new beginning; almost unconsciously I found myself at the pianoforte, and so one "Papillon" after another came into being."¹

It must have been for their lightness and gracefulness that Schumann chose the title Butterflies. He was also aware that his originality broke out more and more in this composition.

In connection with the title Humoreske, Schumann often lamented that the French did not understand it, that they had no adequate word for humor, the quality most deeply rooted in German nationality.

"Do you not know Jean Paul, our great writer?" he wrote to Clara Schumann on March 11, 1839, "I have learned more counterpoints from him than from any music master."

Humoreske, after Richter, is a jolly piece. It represents broadly various, capricious ideas of a humorous native.

Schumann drew from Richter for the themes of many of his songs. Among the Lied compositions which Schumann wrote in 1840, the year of songs, there were two groups which were a special gift to Clara Wieck, his wife-to-be. These were Op. 24, Liederkreis, and Op. 25, Myrthen,

1 Niecks : op. cit., page 136.

which contain many songs inspired by his favorite author.

Schumann was not one of those who lost their loyalty to Richter; on the contrary, he remained a life-long admirer and extolled the poet's writings to all his friends. Indeed, the case was that he loved Jean Paul not wisely, but too well. Yet for so ardent an admirer, it is unusual that Schumann was so little an imitator.

It was Byron, however, who affected Schumann more deeply than any other poet. His Manfred was the inspiration for that glorious work of Schumann by the same name. We know very little about the inwardness of the composing of Manfred. The Diary tells us that on August 4, 1848, Schumann began a new work, a kind of melodrama, Manfred, inspired by the poem of Byron. By the second week of November, the overture was finished. But Byron's determination to make his poem impossible for presentation on the stage proved more effective than Schumann's endeavor to adapt it for musico-dramatic treatment; for although it has been staged, Schumann's Manfred lends itself better, if still imperfectly, to concert performance. Richard Pohl writes of Schumann's reaction when Manfred was first performed:

"Schumann's mood was deeply serious; completely absorbed in the score, forgetting the audience altogether, taking little notice even of the orchestral musicians, he lived in his tones, identified himself as it were with his task, became himself Manfred. I felt that this work, more perhaps than any other, had been written with his heart's blood, and that here he had spoken from his innermost soul."¹

Of the several constituents of Manfred, the overture is the great-

1 Niecks, Frederick : op. cit., page 238.

est of Schumann's works - one of the grandest and most original compositions ever conceived; one of the most powerful but also one of the most unrelievably sombre soul portraits. In Manfred, Schumann had the opportunity to depict ~~one of the most arresting figures~~ ^{a unique} in all literature. In Manfred, the gloom that Byron portrays is more awful than in Zara and Harold because it is touched by a deeper despondency. Manfred does not find vent for the anguish of his heart in war, but instead is doomed by the poet to the majestic solitudes of the Alps, where, from his youth he has lived in a proud but calm seclusion from the ways of men, conversing only with the Spirits of the Elements, over which he has acquired dominion by sorcery and magic. He scorns the love and frivolous nature of mankind.

In Manfred, many believe Byron depicted not only his own exile from society, but what some believe to have been the real cause of his separation from his wife and consequent exile from England, - his relations with his half-sister, Augusta. Manfred muses and suffers from the beginning to the end of the poem. The hunter and the priest really have no connection with the passions and sufferings on which the interest depends. Manfred holds no communion but with the memory of Astarte, whom he has loved, and the immortal Spirits, whom he evokes to reproach with his misery, and their inability to relieve it.

Manfred is a grand and terrible picture of a being invested with superhuman attributes in order that he may be capable of more ¹ than human sufferings. Throughout the poem, the despair of Manfred

1 Jeffrey, Lord, Editor : Manfred, from The Poetical Works of Lord Byron, N. Y., D. Appleton and Co., 1900, page 186.

is apparent. His lonely death makes an effective close to the moral tumult of the preceding scenes.

III.C-Compositions of Chopin.

"As-tu réfléchi combien nous sommes organisés pour le malheur?"¹

A fatal fleet of names sails before us evoked by Flaubert's pitiless and pitiful question in a letter addressed to George Sand. She could have answered for at least two--two names written in large handwriting in the book of fate opposite her own--Frédéric Chopin and Alfred de Musset. "Can't you see her, with the gaze of a sibyl², crunching such a genius as Chopin, he exhaling his melodious sigh as he expired? But this attrition of souls filled the world with art, for after all what was George Sand but a skilful literary midwife, who delivered men of genius and often devoured their souls after forcing from them in intolerable agony the most exquisite music?"²

George Sand was perhaps the most prolific author in the history of French literature. Her life was as strange and adventurous as that of any characters in her novels. The earlier of these are novels of revolt. Matthew Arnold wrote:

"The cry of agony and revolt is in her earlier work. Aspiration for a social new-birth, a renaissance sociale is everywhere evident."³

She broke away from social conventions,--kicked over the traces. Her religion was a passing experience, no deeper than her republicanism and less lasting than her socialism.⁴ George Sand was an unusual woman, whose ideas had a profound influence on those who gathered around her. As Locke says in Music and the Romantic Movement,

"Her early works helped to undermine whatever ideas had been left

1 Huneker, James : Mezzotints in Modern Music, N. Y., Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1899, page 160.

2 Ibid., page 161.

3 Arnold, Matthew : Mixed Essays, N. Y., Macmillan Co., 1904, page 233.

4 Encyclopedia Britannica, vol. 24, page 131.

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in the young men of the time."

Volumes have been written in condemnation and in praise of George Sand. This much we know: she exerted a powerful influence over Chopin: that influence brought both joy and sorrow to him, and it did affect his music in a vital way, as it affected his life. If we touch on his life with George Sand, we shall be able to see that influence better.

In the autumn of 1837, Chopin was seized by an alarming illness, which left him extremely weak. He was compelled to travel south to avoid the hardships of winter, and Mme. Sand travelled with him. They decided to go to Majorca, because the air was particularly good for sufferers from lung disease. When Chopin left Paris, he had no hope of living, but under his companion's watchful care he grew so much better that for several years his health was improved. Was it the climate alone that called him back to life or was it not, rather, because his life was so happy that he recovered his strength because he wanted to live? George Sand appeared to Chopin in the crucial moment of his life, and she not only is responsible for inspiring him, but she actually brought him back to health again. "Chopin loved George Sand even unto death, with a clinging attachment that lost none of its intensity when it had lost all of its joy, and which remained faithful to her when all its memories had turned to pain."

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George Sand remained, until Chopin's last moment, the woman of magic power, who had plucked him from the valley of the shadow of death, and whose power over him had turned his physical suffering into love

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- 1 Locke, A. W. : Music and the Romantic Movement in France, London, Paul, French, Turner, and Co., 1920, page 7.
- 2 Liszt, Franz: Life of Chopin, London, Wm. Reeves, page 201.

for her. Chopin could never speak of this period at Majorca without deep emotion and profound gratitude, as though its happiness had lasted for a long time. The scenery of the country through which they passed made a deeper impression upon Sand, the poet, than upon Chopin, the musician. Like a true musician, he was content to seize the sentiment of the scenes which they visited, and it was through the medium of the glowing pictures which she painted that he actually contemplated the countryside. She inspired Chopin to read a deeper meaning into the world of material things, and taught him to trust more implicitly in his own power. She realized Chopin's genius, and she encouraged him to develop his powers to the fullest extent. Sand wrote:

"Chopin's creation was spontaneous, miraculous. He found it without seeking, without forethought. It came suddenly, - complete and sublime, as it sang in his head during a walk and he hurried to hear it himself by giving it (at) the piano. Then began the most terrible labor I have ever witnessed."

The ideas of some of Chopin's greatest compositions were the result of the happy days he spent with George Sand. Many tales have grown up about the inspiration of some of his compositions. Whether these stories are true or not is a matter of conjecture, but there is
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no doubt that the inspiration came from this woman.

George Sand's energetic personality and almost electric genius

1 A classic example of these often quoted stories is that connected with the D flat Valse - "le valse du petit chien". As the story goes, while Chopin was playing for George Sand one evening at her home in the Place d'Orléans, she became amused at her little dog who was chasing its tail. She begged Chopin to set the tail to music. He did so, and the result was the D flat Valse.

inspired Chopin with an admiration so intense as to consume him. As Liszt said,

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"Just as wine too vigorous will shatter the fragile vessel."

The loves of famous men and women, especially those connected with literature and fine arts, have always excited much curiosity. In spite of the fact that Chopin loved George Sand and that she, at least, admired him, they were destined to part, for their natures were essentially different. Chopin shrank from coarseness of all sorts, and he must have suffered at the hands of George Sand and her gallant band of retainers. The break, which had been very perceptibly widening, became hopeless in 1847, when the two parted forever. A literature has grown up on the subject. Chopin never had much to say but the woman had; so had Chopin's pupils, who were quite vir-
2ulent in their assertions that she killed their master. Two such natures could never have entirely cohered. George Sand wrote of Chopin's music later:

"He made an instrument speak the language of the infinite. Often in ten lines that a child might play he introduced poems of unequalled elevation, dramas unrivalled in force and energy. He did not need the great material methods to find expression for his genius.
3Without church organ or human voice, he inspired faith and enthusiasm."

Although their diverse natures never could have united in a complete union, out of that broken relationship came the fire of a genius whose light has shown undimmed^m
4through the years. The kindling of that

1 Liszt, Franz ; op. cit., page 109.

2 Huneker, James : Chopin, the Man and His Music, N. Y., Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926. page 21.

3 Huneker, James : op. cit., page 233.

light was due, in no small measure, to the inspiring genius of George Sand.

IV. A - The Relation between Political Revolution and Music (1830-1848).
Music that Expressed National Consciousness.

From George Sand let us turn to the other great influence on the music of Chopin - to Poland. We must rank Chopin among the first musicians who individualized in themselves the poetic sense of a whole nation, not however, simply, because he adopted the rhythm of Polonaises, Mazurkas, and Waltzes, and called many of his compositions by these names. It is because he imbued these forms with the feelings peculiar to his nation and because the heart of that nation found expression in all the forms in which he has written, that he is entitled to be considered essentially a Polish poet.

All who are acquainted with Chopin are aware that his works are filled with a spirit of devotion to his native land. It will be remembered that while Poland was an independent kingdom, it formed a buffer-state. Its close proximity to Russia affected the character of the people, their customs, their mode of thought, and their art-expression. The unusual rhythms and lilt to Polish music are due in a large measure to this Eastern influence.

We have to distinguish Chopin the personal, and the national tone-poet; the singer of his own joys and sorrows and those of his country. In distinguishing these two aspects, we must be careful not to separate them: "They were a duality, the constitutive forces of which alternately assumed supremacy."¹ The national poet at no time completely absorbed the personal, the personal poet at no time dis-

1 Nięks, Frederick : Chopin, London, Novello and Co., vol II, page 215.

owned the national. The scene of his dreams was most of the time in the land of his birth. No other poet has, like Chopin, embodied in art the romance of the land and the people of Poland. The impressions received in Poland during his boyhood and youth remained the principal sources of his inspiration. In his young days, he went on visits to the country around Warsaw and listened to the fiddling and singing of the peasants. In this way, he indirectly laid the cornerstone of his art as a national composer.¹ It was an aspiration with him from the very first to put Poland into his music. The external qualities are, of course, his own, but the texture is essentially of native growth and native substance.

J. C. Hadden, in his book on Chopin, notes three ways in which the national element affected Chopin's music. In the first place, Hadden mentions that it determined the main forms of his art-product. The popular music of Poland is almost invariably founded on dance forms, and throughout the rest of it their effect may be seen in a hundred phrases and episodes. A second point of resemblance is Chopin's habit of "founding a whole paragraph either on a single phrase repeated in similar shapes, or on two phrases in alternation".² Thirdly, Chopin was to a considerable extent affected by the tonality of his native music. In several of his works widely-divorced keys are brought into the closest relationships.

Generally speaking, Chopin had more of the spirit than the form of Polish folk-music. Chopin loved Poland, he hated her oppressors.

1 Hadden, J. C. : Chopin, London, J. M. Dent and Co., 1903, page 60.

2 Hadden, J. C. : op. cit., page 210.

There is no doubt that he idealized his country and her wrongs until¹ the themes grew out of all proportion.

In the Polonaises, we find two distinct groups: in one the objective, material side predominates; in the other, there is Chopin the moody, the morose. But in all, the Polish element pervades. Excluding the Mazurkas, these dances are the most Polish of all his works.

The Polonaise is the court dance, par excellence. It expresses the national spirit and character - chivalry, grandeur, and stateliness; "the cadence with which each part closes indicates the deep bow of the gentleman, and the graceful curtsy of the lady".² The Polonaise originated in the last half of the tenth century, and was at first a measured procession of nobles and their ladies to the sound of music. It is really a march, a processional dance, grave, moderate, and by no means stereotyped. Liszt tells us of the capricious life infused into its courtly measures by the Polish aristocracy. It is the symbol both of war and love. In this form, the noblest traditional feelings of ancient Poland are represented. The Polonaise is the true and purest type of Polish national character.³ To the development of the Polonaise, everything co-operated which specifically distinguished the nation from others. The Polonaises belong to the most beautiful of Chopin's inspirations.

To Rubinstein, the A major Polonaise was a picture of Poland's greatness in comparison with the C minor, which he considered pictured Poland's downfall. The Polonaises of Op. 26, 40, 53, and 61⁴ are pre-eminently political. They are the composer's expression

1 Huneker, James : op. cit., page 320.

2 Madden, J. C. : op. cit., page 225.

3 Kelley, E. S. : Chopin, the Composer, N. Y., G. Schirmer, 1913, page 98.

4 Niecks, Frederick : op. cit., page 238.

of his patriotic feelings. It is not difficult to recognize in them memories of past splendors and broodings over present humiliations, and also bright visions of a future resurrection.

The energetic rhythm of the Polonaise would bring to life the most indifferent listener. In this form are embodied the noblest traditional feelings of the Poland of bygone age. As we listen to some of the Polonaises of Chopin, we can almost hear the firm, heavy, and resolute tread of men. They bring before the imagination the ancient Poles as they are described in their chronicles, endowed with courage and a profound piety. There is, of course, nothing new in the statement that the character of a nation is, to some extent, revealed by its dances; but there are no national dances in which the creative impulses are revealed with such simplicity and facility as in the Polonaises.

In everything that concerns expression, Chopin's Mazurkas differ widely from his Polonaises. In fact, in character they are totally unlike. In the Mazurkas harmonies, rhythms, and melodies have a distinctly Polish character, while only the rhythm is national in the Polonaise. Most of the Mazurkas and Polonaises never shake off an under mood of deep sadness, and there is none of them which does not sing of a national pride.¹ Pride and sorrow are their keynotes.

In the Mazurkas, the bold and vigorous coloring of the Polonaises gives way to the most tender and delicate shades. The Mazurka is the dance of the Polish women; it is the feminine complement to the heroic and masculine Polonaise. Balzac called the Polish woman

1 Mason, D. G., Editor : Art of Music, N. Y., National Society of Music, 1915, vol. VII, page 281.

"angel through love, demon through fantasy".¹ The feminine element is brought out in the very boldest relief by Chopin. "It is only in Poland that it is possible to catch the haughty, yet tender and alluring character of the Mazurka".²

The most characteristic trait of the Mazurka is the displaced accent. This gives it a Slavonic lilt, which we have noted was quite prominent in Polish music. At its best, the Mazurka is a "dancing anecdote".³ It is rude, harmonious, poetic, and above all, melancholy. As was the case with the Polonaise, Chopin took the framework of the national dance, developed it, enlarged it and put into it his most beautiful melodies. It is a miracle that Chopin could write as many Polonaises and Mazurkas as he did, without repeating himself.

Although Schubert and von Weber had already raised the Waltz from the level of a common dance tune, Chopin was the first to make a special genre of this class of music. He imparted to the Waltz the dignity of an art-form, and yet he lost none of the freshness of the dance in its earliest days. Perhaps that, in some way, accounts for the fact that the Waltzes are the most popular of Chopin's compositions. In them the composer mixes with the world,- looks without him rather than within.

These Waltzes are salon music of the most aristocratic character. But the aristocratic character of Chopin's Waltzes is real, not conventional; their exquisite gracefulness and distinction are natural, not affected. Schumann declared that the dancers of the Waltzes should

1 Huneker, James : op. cit., page 340.

2 Liszt, Franz : op. cit., page 56.

3 Huneker, James : op. cit., page 346.

1

be, at least, countesses. There is a high-bred reserve about them, and never a hint of the brawling peasants of Grieg, Tchaikowsky, and the other nationalist composers.

The A Flat Waltz, op. 42, composed in 1840, is the best rounded specimen of Chopin's experimenting with this form. Regarding certain phrasing of the Waltz, Moriz Rosenthal wrote in the London Musical Standard:

"In music there is Liberty and Fraternity, but seldom Equality, and in music Social Democracy has no voice. That a genius like Chopin did not indicate everything accurately is quite explainable. He flew where we merely trip after. Moreover, the accents in the Waltzes must be felt rather than executed."

2

Rosenthal is referring to the unusual accent in the rhythm of the Waltzes. This accent is a part of all Polish music; the difference being that it appears on different beats in the Mazurkas, the Polonaises, and the Waltzes, thus giving them a characteristic feature.

The Waltzes, aristocratic and more universal in form and appeal, are not as national in spirit as the Mazurkas and Polonaises. While just as beautiful in form, the Waltzes do not have the depth of spirit, the feeling of national pride, that makes the Polonaises and Mazurkas stand out among the finest nationalistic music ever composed.

3

Like Chopin, Liszt brought into the field of music a new genre.

1 Huneker, James : op. cit., page 242.

2 Niecks, Frederick : op. cit., page 246.

3 Paderewski caught the spell of his countryman's music, and the great poet-composer and poet-musician brought Poland back into the family of nations by a sort of musical enchantment.

He did for the Rhapsody what Chopin did for the Waltz. Liszt adopted the incisive tunes of the wandering gypsy bands, and made them into piano pieces of exquisite beauty.

Franz Liszt was a nine year old boy when he left his native country, and it was twenty years before he revisited the place of his birth. That was in 1840; the child had become a man, "le petit Liszt" a world-renowned artist; but his country had also undergone an important change. Existing in political obscurity and indifference at the time of Liszt's childhood, the Magyars in the meantime had become restless and ambitious, and the national pride of the Hungarian was awakened.¹ While the country could not yet boast of brilliant results, political or otherwise, the errant knight of Hungary, the unique Liszt, had conquered what he had set out to do just twenty years before.²

One could not have blamed Liszt if his Parisian successes had spoiled him, for his native country was so remote from the musical world; but the glory of an international career had not been able to dim his patriotic devotion. When, in Vienna, he heard the details of Hungary's political struggles, he felt a strong desire to see the land of his birth again.

The story of his reception at Pressburg and Pesth is unexampled. Even after making an allowance for the impulsive nature of the Hungarian people, merely musical enthusiasm could never fully account for such boundless demonstration. Patriotic pride had a hand in it.

At that time, 1840, Liszt had just begun to realize the great

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- 1 Spanuth, August, Editor : Ten Hungarian Rhapsodies of Liszt, N. Y., Charles H. Ditson and Co., 1904, page 1.
 - 2 Dannreuther, Edward : Oxford History of Music, vol. VI, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1905, page 267.

artistic possibilities of the Hungarian music in his concerts at Vienna, but these were Schubert's compositions.

After this memorable visit to his native land, Liszt submitted freely to the influence of the gipsy music. His heart was in the task, and Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsodies not only ranked among his most powerful and convincing works, but must also be counted as superior specimens of national music in general. It was really Liszt with his Rhapsodies, who started a new era of Hungarian music. Tunes which before had served "to amuse a motley crowd at the Czardas on the 'Pus-¹zta'" have, through Liszt, been successfully introduced into music. Most of Liszt's imitators merely caught the outline of Hungarian music, but Liszt was able to penetrate to the very source of it. He carried the key, so to speak, of its secret in his Hungarian temperament. Liszt understood Hungary as Chopin understood Poland.

Haydn, Beethoven, and Schubert did not intend to write real Hungarian music; they only endeavored to introduce some of its spirit in their writings, and treated the gipsy themes very much like themes of their own invention. Liszt, however, had a different task in view; he was bound to make Hungarian music an independent and acknowledged factor in modern music. Liszt rescued Hungarian music for art, and gave it a characteristic form to dwell in. He put into that form nothing but the best features of Hungarian music. The rhythms, melodies, and harmonics are the growth of the soil of Hungary.² To show the success with which these Rhapsodies met, ^{it is only necessary to remember that} many to-day consider that Liszt's reputation as a composer of pianoforte music rests largely upon the Rhapsodies Hongroises.

1 Spanuth, August : op. cit., page 4.

2 Mason, D. G. : op. cit., page 317.

IV. B - Wagner's Works and Their Effect as the Culmination of the Reciprocal Relation of Music, Political Revolution, and Romanticism.

That Franz Liszt was one of the leaders of the Romantic composers there is no doubt; and yet his name will go down in musical history not merely because of his accomplishments in the field of composition, but also because of the generosity he displayed toward young and struggling musicians. The greatest genius to whom he ever extended a helping hand was Wagner, who in the end outshone his benefactor. So far as the musical stage is concerned, Wagner summed up and completed the ideas and aspirations of Romanticism. He expresses them in Tannhäuser, in Lohengrin, Tristan und Isolde, and Parsifal.

The question of the choice of subject was of vital importance in the Wagnerian music - dramas, and through the path of Romanticism, Wagner was led to legends, which so well fitted his musical ideas. Until the time that he wrote Der fliegende Holländer, historical subjects had attracted him, but, by a lucky accident, he came upon the Volksbuch version of the legend of Tannhäuser.¹ The chance perusal of the volume proved the turning point in the life of the music-dramas. One of the characteristics of Romanticism was its revival of the past. The interest in the old legends was quickened, and poets drew for inspiration upon the old folk lore and myths of former days. The reading of this ancient Tannhäuser legend served the cause of the musical world well, for it awakened a longing in Wagner to return to his own country.

1 Lidgcy, C. A. : Wagner, Boston, J. M. Dent and Co., 1907, page 25.

He was a struggling artist in Paris at the time. He wanted to appeal to his own countrymen, and here seemed his opportunity to make that appeal through the medium of their own folk-legend. Wagner plunged into a study of Loherengrin, Parsival, Titurël, and Sanserkrieg.¹

The discovery of this wealth of material opened a new field for Wagner, and from this date begins the group of operas upon which Wagner's fame securely rests.

Wagner maintained that legendary subjects are to be preferred to historical ones, because the substance of a legendary story is so readily intelligible that there remains plenty of space for the full expression of the inner motives of the action.² For instance, in Tannhäuser, the action springs mainly from the inner motives of the characters, and even the final catastrophe is lyrical. In Loherengrin, the interest is concentrated on the psychological process in the heart of Elsa. So the lyric spirit pervades the whole, and on the close connection of the play with the music depends the total effect.

In a letter written to Caillard in 1844, Wagner put the case for legendary subjects more compactly than in any of his theoretical writings;

"It is the task of the operatic poet and composer to charm into existence, with all its peculiar fragrance, the poetic spirit which is wafted to us from the legends and myths of antiquity; for here music offers the means for combinations which are not at the command of the poet alone. This, too, is the proper way to elevate the opera,

1 Lavignac, Albert : The Music Dramas of Wagner, N. Y., Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1930, page 81.

2 Damreuther, Edward : op. cit., page 333.

which, on the contrary, we lower by asking the composer to set to music everyday occurrences and intrigues which the modern comic poet can¹ handle much more successfully without music."

The Romanticist is pleading for freedom to express his art in the best medium possible. He does not want to be tied down to everyday stories, but to be given the freedom to express himself through the medium of legends, which so well fuse with his music to make a perfect music drama.

In his essays on music, he makes an elaborate effort to prove² that the myth is the playground of the poet. The gods, he says, are the very first inventions of the human poetic faculty; hence, the legends connected with them have always inspired the great poets to artistic creativeness. In them, exist the simple human passions and emotions, therefore they impose no fetters on the musician's imagination.

We have only to glance down the list of Wagner's music-dramas to see that his greatest inspiration came through the medium of legends. The legend of Tannhäuser is found in old German folk-tales; in Tristan und Isolde, Wagner drew from one of the greatest legends of all times, from the Arthurian cycle; in Parsifal, he drew from the famous³ epic of Wolfram von Eschenbach.

Not until Wagner found these legends, the beauty of which the Romantics were unfolding before European eyes, did he attain that perfect union of poetry and music that was so essential in order for

1 Finck, H. I. : Wagner and His Works, N. Y., Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1907, page 474.

2 Finck, H. I. : op. cit., page 485.

3 Henderson, W. J.: Wagner, N. Y., G. P. Putman's Sons, 1901, page 366.

him to perfect that art-form which has made him world-famous.

In turning to the influence which Revolution had on Wagner, we must do him the justice at the outset to say that with practical politics, in the ordinary sense of the word, he concerned himself but little. That he took part in the Revolution of 1848-1849 is a proved fact, but he was led into it by artistic motives. If we examine Wagner's life during these stormy years, the truth of that statement will be more evident.

During the troubled period of 1847 and 1848, Wagner's greatest friend in Dresden was August Röckel, "the patriot". His partisans were all men of the people, his chief opponents held official positions in and about the court. His new opera, Lohengrin, was "indefinitely postponed" by the producers. He had gradually grown profoundly disgusted with the theatre, yet he saw no possible reformation of it except by way of a reformation of man and society. Wagner was feeling the pressure of money difficulties and the annoyance of empty pockets and exacting creditors. He made out a careful and elaborate scheme for the reform of the Dresden theatre, but it was treated with derision by the minister to whom it was presented. There is no need to wonder that he grew daily more discontented by the antagonism that surrounded him on every side. The more he reflected on his own troubles the more willing did he become to welcome any change in the conditions of his life. "Like most revolutionaries he found impulse in his convictions and opportunity in his circumstances."¹

So many biographers of Wagner have attempted to discredit his part in the Revolution of 1848-1849. He, himself, was somewhat ashamed of it

1 Madow, W. H. : Studies in Modern Music, N. Y., Macmillan Co., 1892, page 269.

in his later years, but the fact still remains that he was carried into its turmoil, even though ^{the} it may have been ^{due to} through the enthusiasm of those with whom he associated.

Hans von Bülow, to whom Wagner was genuinely attached, was the first to make him realize the genuine character of the new political enthusiasm. Wagner wrote:

"Now that I had finished Lohengrin, and had leisure to study the course of events, I could no longer help myself sympathizing with the ferment aroused by the birth of German ideals and hopes attached to their realization. The temper of the populace, of which there could be no question, although it might not have been given very obvious expression, and the belief that it was impossible to return to old conditions, could not fail to exercise its influence upon me. But I wanted actions instead of words, and actions which would force our princes to break forever with their old traditions, which were so detrimental to the cause of the German commonwealth. With this object I felt inspired to write a popular appeal in verse. One of the verses ran,

'The old fight against the East
Returns again to-day
The people's sword must not rust
Who freedom will for aye.'¹"

The artistic motives behind Wagner's part in the Revolution are quite evident, but let us not discredit the enthusiasm displayed for

1 Wagner, Richard : My Life, N. Y., Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1911, page 211.

the Revolution itself. He was carried away by his fervor, and his love of liberty manifested itself in his participation in the revolt.

It was his association with Roëkel and the other revolutionists in Dresden, coupled with Wagner's growing feeling of discontent at the conditions of art life, and his combative spirit, rather than any actual political sympathies which led him to take active part in the stormy scenes of the May revolutions.

In the Spring of 1849, Frederick William of Prussia called a Parliament of the German States at Frankfort to discuss a constitution. Prussia accepted the constitution, but Saxony and Wurtemberg wavered. Addresses, words of advice, of encouragement, of blame, poured in upon Saxony; and, at last, the flames of discontent broke out in actual rebellion. In Dresden, where the dissolution of the chambers had brought the excitement to the highest pitch, the government, on May 3rd, forbade a projected parade in honor of the national constitution. The crowd surrounded the arsenal and palace, and the king fled to the impregnable Königstein. His ministers accompanied him, but returned the same evening to find a provisional government set up. The advent of the Prussian troops put a stop to the movement, and the ringleaders were punished with long imprisonment. Wagner, who was one of the offenders was very fortunate and succeeded in reaching Paris, where for some time he made his residence.

"He became a revolutionist, - not for politic's sake, but for art's sake." ¹ To cooler heads than his own, he seemed to be drifting towards destruction. Minna Wagner saw clearly enough that his views

1 Newman, Ernest : Wagner as a Man and Artist, N. Y., Alfred A. Knopf, 1924, page 180.

on politics were too idealistic to have any real bearing on the practicalities of the day; and other sympathizers, no doubt, regretted that the artist in him should be in danger of being ruined by the
¹
 politician.

In June, 1848, Wagner had made his famous Vaterlandsverein speech that created so many enemies for him at the Court. Roëkel had induced him to make this speech before the Fatherland Union. In it, Wagner demanded general suffrage, abolition of the standing army, and the aristocracy, and the conversion of Saxony into a republic. His loyalty to the king was shown by his proposal that the monarch should himself proclaim the republic and remain in office as its head. Wagner's mind was filled with a conviction that freedom and honesty in art went hand in hand. In February, 1849, he wrote an article on "Man and Existing Society" for Roëkel's Volksblatter, and in April one on "The
²
 Revolution" for the same journal. Each of these is a cry of welcome to the new era that he thought was coming.

"In the year 1848 began the war of man's fight against existing society. For society as at present constituted is inimical to the destiny, the right of man....man's destiny is, through the ever higher perfecting of his mental, moral, and bodily faculties, to attain an ever higher, purer happiness.....The old world is crumbling to
³
 ruin; a new world will be born from it."

The artist burns with sympathy for the poor, the suffering, the oppressed, and looks forward to a new civilization, in which man will be free and have joy in his labor.

1 Ibid, page 182.

2 Henderson, W. F. : op. cit., page 389.

3 Newman, Ernest : op. cit., page 193.

But the end was near,- a very different end from the one anticipated by this ardent soul. While his share in these scenes seems to have been largely that of an agitator, rather than an actual bearer of arms, the accounts he gives of his part in the disturbances show us plainly that the Revolution enlisted his entire sympathies.

With the fall of the provisional government in Dresden, Wagner found it necessary to join in their flight. It was by the merest chance that he escaped arrest and gained in safety the shelter of Liszt's protection at Weimar. Wagner's share in these events resulted in his proscription and exile from Germany until 1861. Since Wagner could not remain at Weimar, Liszt suggested that he go to Paris, where he could find a new field for his work. From the time when he left Weimar until he arrived in Paris, Wagner's spirits, which had sunk into a dream-like apathy, rose gradually to a level of freedom and comfort that he had never enjoyed before.

Wagner's action in the May Revolutions was impulsive, injudicious, short-sighted; but it was honest. If in after years Wagner saw that the regeneration of the theatre and other forms of artistic and social life might be accomplished without the overthrow of the existing forms of government, and if, at the same time, he wished ardently to return to his native land, it was not at all surprising that he expressed sorrow for his actions. In a letter to Liszt in 1856¹ he wrote:

"In regard to that riot and its sequels, I am willing to confess that I now consider myself to have been in the wrong at that time, and carried away by my passions; although I am conscious of not having

committed any crime that would properly come before the courts, so that it would be difficult for me to confess to any such.¹"

That Wagner's part in the Revolution of 1848-1849 greatly affected his life we have seen, for it led to his exile from Germany. If we examine his writings, we shall see that it also affected his ideas on art and revolution.

In 1849, he published Art and Revolution, the object of which was to discover the relations between art and the modern state. The Greek drama, Wagner thought, was so great because it was the expression of the whole community at its noblest and best, the expression of a free people untainted by egoism.² The modern stage does, indeed, reflect our modern life, as the Greek stage mirrored the life of Athens, but the world represented in our art is one of hollowness and corruption. Only revolution, Wagner wrote, can give us the real artwork of the modern world.³ Culture has destroyed civilization, and must, in her turn, be overthrown by nature; this will constitute revolution.

From this we can gather how insistent Wagner was upon the importance to art of social well-being. In this he was perfectly sincere; but the pressure of pecuniary need upon him, at a time when his feverish brain was filled with thoughts and visions of new things to be done in music, was undoubtedly at the bottom of his thesis that the artist was out of touch with the modern world, and that art ought to be the most important factor in the lives of men.

As he had written in 1872,

1 Wagner, Richard : My Life, N. Y., Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1911, page 287.

2 Newman, Ernest : op. cit., page 55.

3 Ibid page 56.

"I believed in the Revolution, and in its unrestrainable necessity, with certainly no greater immoderation than Carlyle, only I also felt that I was called to point out to it the way of rescue. For though it was ^{far} from my intent to define the new, which should grow from the ruins of a sham-filled world, as a fresh ordering, I felt the rather animated to draw the outlines of the art-work which should rise from the ruins of a sham-bred art."¹

It was only after Wagner attained success at Bayreuth in the latter years of his life, that he came to be somewhat ashamed of his part in the Revolution. He need not have been, for it is certain that it was a great force in directing his life and his work. It was during the Revolution and the years immediately following it that he formulated the ideas for so many of his music-dramas and for his reforms of the opera that he used to such advantage in later years. It was ⁱⁿ during the early months of his exile in 1849, that he suddenly came across the ideal music-drama. He was working on Frederick the Redbeard, and the idea suddenly dawned upon him that, to understand it thoroughly, it stood in no need of music. This proved a revolutionary idea in his creation of the music-drama, for the question for Wagner in selecting a suitable subject for his music-drama became "what subject calls for such a lofty expression, and consequently requires it, for its artistically complete representation?"² The creative achievement of Wagner's life is summed up in these few words,

"A subject which is comprehended merely by the intelligence

1 Newman, Ernest : op. cit., page 87.

2 Chamberlain, H. S. : Wagnerian Drama, London, Brendon and Son, 1923, page 13.

can also be expressed merely through the language of words; but the more it expands into an emotional concept the more does it call for an expression which in its final and essential fullness can alone be obtained through the language of sounds. Hence the essence of that which the Word-Tone-Poet has to express results quite by itself; it is the Purely Human, freed from all conventions." ¹

The year 1849, we may safely say, marked the turning point in Wagner's life. It saw the beginning of his greatest writings on musical art, it saw the development of the complete idea for the ideal music-drama, and it witnessed a change in Wagner's life, which, in the light of years, we see was most beneficial in the development of his character.

In considering the influence the composer and his music have had on revolution in music, we enter a field upon which there has been much controversy. That Wagner did have an influence on the composers that came after him there is no doubt, but ^{judgment as to} the extent of that influence is to a large degree to be measured by the individual's estimate of the place of Wagner in musical history.

The towering greatness of Wagner is nowhere more strikingly shown than in the failure of all his successors - Strauss, Wolf, Cèsar Franck, Vincent d'Judy, Claude Debussy - to handle his form with anything of the same power, freedom and consistency. It is their very failure to create a music-drama comparable with their master's that led Wagner's followers to revolt against certain art forms. Strauss, for instance, did not possess the genius of Wagner, and he

1 Chamberlain, H. S. : op. cit., page 15.

realized it. He also realized, however, that his feeling for orchestration was every bit as good as his master's, so he proceeded to revolutionize that field of musical art. Strauss' orchestration has an eloquence - not merely a color, but a soul and voice - of which Wagner probably never suspected the possibility.¹ Strauss, Wolf, and others have shaken off the rhythmic fetters that sometimes hampered the movement both of Wagner's poetry and his music. Wolf and Strauss have shown the possibilities of what may be called a prose style in music,² - something Wagner would have pronounced flatly impossible.

But although the Wagnerian apparatus has been improved upon at these and other points, none has been great enough to manipulate the apparatus as a whole with anything like Wagner's power, scope, and freedom. Even an anti-Wagnerian work like Pelléas and Mélisande is, in a sense, a tribute to the great genius. The very sharpness of its recoil from anything like Wagner is an admission of the impossibility of continuing his work on its own lines.

It is inevitable that in some quarters a reaction should have set in against his music and his influence. He has been too overpowering a force. Music, as was only to be expected, has now gone beyond him in certain respects, and the former anarchy is now one of the greatest of the forces that Conservatism claims for its own.

1 Newman, Ernest : op. cit., page 324.

2 Ibid ↵, page 327.

V.A - Conclusion: The Symphonic Character of Revolution.

The French Revolution had, among its many characteristics, one that was quite extraordinary. A revolution is usually a senselessly destructive, savagely animal, and horribly ugly spectacle - dead horses, bombarded houses, plundered shops, bridges blown up, mangled human bodies. But the French Revolution, though horrible, does not seem to us ugly; for it holds a quality of surging rhythm, of daemonic picturesqueness. It has all the color, the light and dark shadows, the powerful rhythmic appeal that such a work as Till Eulenspiegel¹ has. The French Revolution has come to mean more to us than other famous revolutions of history because of this very rhythm and color. It expresses better than the Revolutions of 1330 and 1848 the magnificent surge of rhythm and feeling that has caused us to associate a revolution and a symphony.

"What made the Revolution?" said Napoleon one day. "Vanity! Liberty was nothing but a pretext!"² These words are too brutal, and so far, unjust, but not altogether so. If we could sum up into one word all the elements of rebellion orchestrated by revolution, the word would be "inequality". The French Revolution was mainly a rebellion against various phases of inequality. The Third Estate had no voice in the government; the nobles and clergy spent a life of ease at court, in the chateaux and palaces, but even they were envious of the privileges in their own ranks; the great writers, Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, were voicing the discontent with the institutions of the day in a language so forceful that men were

1 A tone-poem by Richard Strauss, based on a German legend comparable to that of Till Eulenspiegel.
 2 Madelin, Louis : The French Revolution, London, Wm. Heinemann, 1916, page 22.

compelled to take heed; worn out by war and weighed down by heavy taxes, the country was on the verge of a grave economic crisis. All of these elements, social, political, economic, philosophical, were merely waiting for a chance to be orchestrated into one great movement by a simple phrase that would set the keynote of the entire composition. That keynote was supplied by Necker's famous words, "A New Year's Gift to France", when the news spread that the States-General was to be assembled the first of May, 1789 for the first time in one hundred and seventy-five years. France needed only a stimulus, for once the composition was begun ideas were not lacking. At the very beginning, the distaste of the people for the established institutions and conventions in politics, society, and the arts was made manifest.

The first point of attack was the established form of government. Because in a country where everybody, even the most favored, thought themselves oppressed, everyone fancied that Necker's words gave a glimpse of liberty; because in a country where wornout institutions could no longer do their work without galling those on whom they worked, everyone thought this meant the beginning of reform, and concluded that the kingdom would be given a constitution. A constitution to the people of France seemed like a haven of rest to a ship tossed on the high seas by a great storm. Once granted this constitution, they would have obtained a stronghold from which they could strike at distasteful, burdensome restrictions. Having obtained a consciousness of their own power, the French people struck

at everything connected with the ancien régime; in politics, at absolute monarchy, heavy taxation, the system of government^{cal} administration; in society, at the privileges of the nobles and the clergy, inequality in education and opportunity; in the arts at the stereotyped forms, the lack of color, and too set design. Held in check for so long a time, the people, when once let loose, were ruthless in their destruction of everything in any way connected with France as typified by Versailles.

The French are a people of whom every imaginable bad thing has been said - that they are foolish, coarse, narrow, vain, malicious, greedy, often even devilish - but never that they are boring. Besides its being rhythmic and picturesque, another remarkable point about the French Revolution is the simple fact that the Revolution was French. The Frenchman has the talent of making everything into a thrill, a sensation. The mere imposing ferocity of the instincts then let loose alone provided "a dazzling spectacle to a Europe already fading out in dust of books and smoke of tobacco; Europe was awakened from its drowsy afternoon musings by a flaming torch reddening the sky,"¹ by a magnificent burst of sound causing the air to vibrate by the force of its marked rhythms.

The most stirring ^{of these} rhythm in the Revolution is that of the mob. We have a mental picture of thousands of people massed together surging first back and then forward, to the right and then to the left. The mighty rhythm of this people resembles the thunderous roll of the ocean. ^{It} ~~The rhythm~~ is slow, and heavy, but smooth. It is like

1 Friedell, Egon : A Cultural History of the Modern Age, vol. II, N. Y., Alfred A. Knopf, 1931, page 381.

the great slow andantes of Beethoven's symphonies,—constantly changing, occasionally with a quick *shift* in tempo, and then the gradual ebb into a slower, steadier, movement.

With marching armies, the rhythm is ever the same. It is the continual, steady tread that almost ^{induces} a state of hypnosis,—always the same four-four time, always the feeling of a never-ending procession of marching feet. A marching army has the power to weave a spell over the listener. Almost unconsciously, you begin to tap your feet or swing your head from side to side with the beat of the music. It is the steadiness of its rhythm that ensnares the attention, while a mob appeals to the senses in just the opposite way, by the very rise and fall, the intoxicating irregularity of its rhythm.

The most violent changes in rhythm appear in the sessions of the popular assembly. At times, the rhythm is as even and as softly marked as one of Haydn's string quartets. Then an orator arouses the assembly by the fervor of his speech, and immediately the rhythm becomes uneven, the tempo grows jerky, there are constant changes in time. Led up to an emotional climax, it will subside into a more peaceful tone, and then flare up again. The rhythm changes from nine-eighth time to three-four. Nowhere do we find the rhythm varied as much as in these meetings of the assemblies of the people. The various emotions and desires are characterized by a marked change in musical mood.

In considering the French Revolution as a great musical composition, it is apparent that throughout the Revolution certain men,

ideas, and places seemed to represent the leading themes around which the entire composition was based. As Wagner used the leit-motif, it meant a leading theme descriptive of a person, idea, or thing. These leit-motifs set the tone of the entire music-drama, and always appeared at the introduction of an important character, idea, or thing.

There are several men who stand out in this great panorama and who were leading themes in the development of ideas from 1789 until 1795. The first melody played by the strings is soft and rather weak; there is no definiteness about its progression. The picture of Louis XVI appears before our eyes. This insignificant monarch, shy, awkward, with scant ability, interested only in work on his castles and hunting, ^{had small influence on} took small ~~part~~ in the life of the court at Versailles. On July 14, 1789, he had shot nothing while out hunting, and therefore wrote in his diary, which he kept very conscientiously, "Rien". This entry was one of the many mistakes, as innocent as fatal, of which his whole life was made up. For on this day the Paris mob stormed the Bastille, liberated the seven prisoners, and carried the heads of the murdered guards throughout the city on pikes, proclaiming the Sovereignty of the People. To the Duc de Liancourt, who brought him the news of these events late that night, the King, perturbed yet half-asleep, replied, "But, good God, that is revolt!" "No, sire", answered the Duc, "it is Revolution".

Just as this first leit-motif appears to be losing itself in its own unequal progressions, the orchestra takes up another complementary theme. This melody clear and yet firm in tone, recalls

the most important personality that emerged in the moderate phase of the Revolution, Mirabeau. With his strikingly tall, broad-shouldered, bloated, square figure, his great pock-marked head, crowned with a lion's mane of unpowdered curly hair, and his huge buttons and shoe buckles,- his outward appearance suggested a peculiar, rather repellent but imposing elephant.

"His whole person", said Mme. de Stael, "was the embodiment of force unregulated and unlimited".¹

Chateaubriand wrote, "His eyes shot lightning flashes, his mouth thundered, his parliamentary speeches were conflagrations, cloud-bursts, eruptions, battle-symphonies, but skillfully composed, subtly modulated, and accompanied with economical, but highly effective gestures".²

The Revolution is often described as ^{destructive} ~~elemental~~, but ^{in it} ~~^~~ Mirabeau was a constructive and intelligent force. He was not definable, for he followed neither the slogans of the masses, nor the doctrines of the educated. He was against the King's coming to Paris, because he knew the danger of his ~~giving~~ himself into the hands of the people. He wanted to see the King lead the Revolution in alliance with the people for their common victory over feudalism and the church. Unfortunately, he died in April, 1791. With the conclusion of his theme, we hear the first leit-motif appear again, this time even weaker and more indefinite than ever.

Soon after the reappearance of the leit-motif of Louis XVI, the trumpets blare out a new powerful melody, which makes the rafters

1 Friedell, Egon : op. cit., page 389.

2 Ibid : page 340.

shake by very violence.

George Jacques Danton, a kind of "noble brigand", is fittingly introduced into the composition. The leading theme which characterizes him is somewhat like that of Mirabeau, only more booming, and without that faintly graceful touch. Danton was called the Mirabeau of the mob because of his pock-marked bulldog face, his ^{sonorous} ~~booming~~ _A voice, his strong vitality, and the joy he took in living. Actually, he was by turns bloodthirsty and good-humored, stupid and intelligent, - an untamed bulldog. There is color to Danton's theme. Without changing key, it changes in mood, from a powerful surge of rhythm, melody, and harmony, to something sometimes forceful, sometimes commonplace. On receiving the leit-motif, the instruments toss it one from the other.

A theme that runs almost parallel with that of Danton is ^{that of} _A Robespierre, the last of the great Revolutionary heroes. A curiously discordant melody, this of Robespierre! First in major, then in minor, it shows the many sided nature of "the sea-green incorruptible." Maximilien Robespierre was a headmaster turned ^{demoniacal} _A, who would under normal circumstances have exercised his tyranny on points of conduct. A mediocre man of narrow, pedantic honesty, he was determined to found a well-ordered republic upon virtue. With a perverted vision, he was a slave to consistency, ready to kill any person who stood between him and the achievement of his Utopia. With the death of this last of the great figures of the Revolution, the leit-motifs

characterizing particular persons come to an end. Let us not think that these leading themes have developed alone, for interwoven with them have been leit-motifs representative of places and things with which the Revolution is associated.

Along with the theme descriptive of Louis XVI, is woven another theme, that of Versailles. It is stately, graceful, dignified, and rather quaint. It brings a picture of many bejewelled ladies, a gay, amusing, but slightly bored group of courtiers, Marie Antoinette, wreathed with laurel and clothed in a Greek dress, playing the harp. The theme is light, and eighteenth century in its classic austerity.

Entirely opposite in rhythm, style, and appeal is a phrase which typifies to a great extent the entire Revolution, the Bastille. Like the famous shot fired at Lexington in 1775, the fall of the Bastille was heard around the world. Everywhere excited opinion interpreted its destruction as signifying the end of tyranny, the dawn of a new era of brotherly love. We must remember that the Bastille was more than an ordinary fortress. Because the French kings had employed it as a living grave of those of their subjects who ventured to criticize their policy, it had become the outstanding symbol of their absolutism. Arrested on the private order of the sovereign on what was called a lettre de cachet, the bold critics disappeared behind the solid masonry of the Bastille to be held in confinement without trial, subject to the royal pleasure. It was this system that was levelled to the earth with the Bastille. Small wonder that France and the neighboring countries, too often cursed with the same system,

should have rejoiced and prophesied a government in which liberty, equality, and fraternity would hold undisputed sway. Of course, it need hardly be said that the storming of the Bastille did not bring the fulfilment of this Utopian dream, but because it did put an end to an immediate tyranny, it is at least intelligible that the French should ever since have cherished the fourteenth of July as the birthday of an era. The fall of the Bastille seemed to signify the fall of the ancien régime, and, therefore, it should hold an important place as one of the leading leit-motifs in the revolutionary composition. Expressed with force and possessing a stirring, youthful quality this leit-motif is not only arresting in the strength of its beauty, but it seems to weave all the elements of the other leading themes into its haunting melody.

Interwoven with, and complementary to the themes of Danton and Robespierre is the theme of the guillotine. An extremely discordant melody, couched in E flat minor, always the central striking motif against a vague, rumbling background, suggestive of the vast ~~mouth~~ing multitude assembled around the guillotine. The very hideousness of its tone suggests all the horrible details associated with the guillotine. We visualize the women gathered around the scaffolding attentive to their knitting. A cart is dragged slowly through the street in which the unfortunate victims are placed, the pale, proud face of Marie Antoinette is brought to mind, the blushing head of Charlotte Corday held up before the mob by the executioner, Danton muttering "Danton, no weakness", the calm features of André Chenier,

the young poet of the old and new order, who was guillotined two days before the end of the Reign of Terror. Situated in the Place de la Révolution(now the Place de la Concorde) the guillotine was a symbol of the ruthlessness of the worst years of the Revolution. With the fall of the Bastille, the new era seemed at hand, but as the guillotine grew more prominent,a reaction against it and what it stood for was bound to set in. Used by the early leaders of the Revolution as an evidence of their power, with the death of Robespierre, the last of the great leaders, it gradually fades out of the musical picture. It strikes the most glaring note in the entire work; but the unmusicalness of its tone marks a striking contrast to the other themes.

The last leit-motifs in this great work are those representing important ideas - "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" seems to sum up the average Frenchman's idea of what the Revolution should give to France. These three words are the watchword of the French Revolution, denoting the salient principles of the teachings of the social philosophers of the eighteenth century. In the opening years of the Revolution these words were on the lips of all the people, as well as on the pages of the pamphlets and journals. These three words seemed to mean Utopia to ~~the~~ Frenchman^e. Their desire for a constitution was based on their desire for Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. Of the ~~three~~, Equality is of the greatest importance. In picturing it musically,we hear a very stirring air, played in unison by the entire orchestra. On the order of the Marseillaise, it had the

power to stir the hearts of the French, and therefore we must make it one of the most important of the leit-motifs in our composition. Possessing the same emotional appeal as the leading theme of Equality, that of Liberty does not occupy so prominent a place in the composition, however. The theme Fraternity is even more subdued in tone, and quite smooth and even in rhythm. These leit-motifs represent the best and the most inspiring elements in the composition. Not so striking in form, or as ingeniously orchestrated, they come as a relief from the more unusual, and different themes. With them, the composition opens in a spirit of youth and hope and joy; with them, the composition closes, not however in the same youthful tone, for these themes, having been developed to their fullest extent, at the close seem mature, tired, and ^a little sad.

The great beauty of the form, rhythm, and development portrayed by the French Revolution makes it the best illustration of all the revolutions, during the years 1789 to 1849, of the circular character of revolution. The Revolution began with absolute monarchy and through a soaring and then a retreating line made a rondure that concluded with a restoration of Bourbon monarchy. Just so, we may compare it to a symphony of four movements.

The first movement of the symphony is in sonata form. In it the leading themes are stated in the Exposition (first section), elaborated and developed in the second (the Development), and used again in the Recapitulation in very much the same form as in the Exposition.

The second movement we may describe as being in rondo form. This

THE REVOLUTIONARY CYCLE OF 1789-1815

14th. Germinal, 1794
Robespierre, Dictator

June 2, 1793
Fall of the Gironde Victory of Radical Democracy

9th. Thermider, 1794
Fall of Robespierre

August 10, 1792
Fall of the Monarchy Victory of Bourgeois Republic

1st. Prairial, 1795
Fall of the Convention

July 14, 1789
Fall of the Feudal State Victory of the Constitution

18th. Brumaire, 1799
Fall of the Directory

1804 Empire

Ancien Régime
1789

Bourbon Restoration
1815

This diagram is not designed to prove that there is absolute mathematical symmetry in the revolutionary cycle. The brief reign of Robespierre is placed at the apex as representing the rule of the demagogic dictator as opposite to the reigns of the divine right monarchs, Louis XVI and Louis XVIII. The diagram shows the circle is closed but does not mean to imply that the events it describes are no longer influential after 1815. Rather, this circle is one of a series, similar, somewhat, to those made in a pool which has been disturbed by the casting of a pebble.

The causes of the revolutionary cycles, though differing in circumstance, are identical in being unrest at abuses, political and social. The physicist cannot determine when there occurs cessation of the vibrations of the final note of a symphony. Neither can the political theorist determine when the influence terminates of an event of state. Neither in revolution nor in symphony is the circle closed in the sense of being completed.

movement is lively and spirited. In section A, the themes are given in simple clear form. Section B presents a new theme, just as clearly stated as the themes of A. Section A is repeated, this time with a change of rhythm and more developed in form. The fourth section is called C, and a new group of themes is introduced. ~~So on~~ ^{on so} This may go ^A for quite a while - A B A C A D A B, ending with a coda, which sums up the movement.

The third movement is a slow andante, which comes as a relief from the quick tempo of the rondo. It represents a reaction against the spirited quality of the second movement, and is even and subdued in tone.

The fourth movement is sonata form, thus giving continuity to the symphony by returning to the idea of the first movement. It brings the symphony to a fitting close, giving a sense of completeness and finish.

This circular form cannot be applied letter to letter, and note to note to the French Revolution, but the similarity in the two is at once apparent. We may say that the first movement represents the ancien régime, the France of Louis XVI, the France of absolute monarchy. By the storming of the Bastille, on July 14, 1789, the ancien régime was brought down, and replaced by the rule of the National Assembly, which meant the victory of Constitutionalism over Absolutism. With the fall of the Bastille, the rondo begins. The second movement is long and varied. The storming of the Tuileries, on August 10, 1792, resulted in the suspension of the king, or the victory

of the Republic over the Monarchy. The imprisonment of the Girondist leaders on June 2, 1793, ^{in a ~~du~~ ~~rat~~ ~~is~~} ~~marks~~ the sole rule of the Mountain, and, with it, the victory of the proletarian over the bourgeois democracy. With the execution of the Dantonists on the 14th Germinal, 1794, the Revolution reaches its highest point in the dictatorship of Robespierre, and then it enters another stage. We may characterize this period of Robespierre's fall as the coda of the second movement. With his death, the Revolution enters a calmer, saner stage, the andante. On the 9th thermidor, 1794, the convention, as representative of radical democracy, vanquishes Robespierre, just as on June 2, 1793, he had triumphed over moderate democracy; on the 1st Prairial, 1795, the Republic of the Third Estate triumphed over the Jacobins, as ~~it~~ ^{it} on August 10, 1792, had triumphed over the Monarchy; on the 18th Brumaire, 1799, constitutional Monarchy triumphed over the Directory, as it had done on July 14, 1789, over the old feudal state.

The circle is not complete, however, with the absolutism of the Empire, although the last movement begins with the crowning of Napoleon as Emperor in 1804. Led through a very stormy Development section, the Recapitulation of the last movement begins with the return of the Bourbons to power under Louis XVIII, and the circular character of the symphony and the Revolution is brought to a close. The great circle is completed, and the strains of the symphony die away in the distance. We are not left with a sense of a definite conclusion, however, because faintly through the air, the strains of new

themes come to our ears. We feel that new hopes and aspirations are being brought to life out of which greater symphonies will some day come. This great Fifth Symphony is foretelling the greater, more spiritual, more poignant and emotionally beautiful Ninth.

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Miss Bennett has achieved a splendid piece of work, showing intelligent research, and has made her subject interesting to the reader and has carried it through, logically. Both she and her instructors deserve congratulation. Marion Bauer.

Peterboro, N. H.

McDonnell Colony -

Aug. 25th, 1932.

An excellent contribution from one of our American colleges, showing a significant development in musical appreciation from both standpoint of student and faculty. Particularly powerful is the presentation and conclusions drawn therein. Very hearty congratulations!

McDonnell Colony,
Aug. 30th, '32

Harold Moore

Sweet Briar College Establishes New
Major

SWEET BRIAR, VA., July 10.—"The Relation of Music to the Revolutionary Aspect of the Period 1739-1849" was the subject of the essay by Margaret Bennett for the recently established Interdepartmental Major in Revolution and Romanticism at Sweet Briar College. The essay was written under the supervision of Dora Neill Raymond, professor of history and government, and under the guidance of a committee of which Mary Dee Long, professor of English, was chairman.

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